California Journal
The Monthly Analysis of State Government and Politics
July 1982/$2.50

The next governor:

Cautious Tom or Dull Duke

Complete primary statistics and outlook for November

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Slogan of the year: Republican congressional candidate G. Richard Arnold of Santa Cruz wants the voters to get this description of him: "Looks like Lenin, sounds like Lincoln."

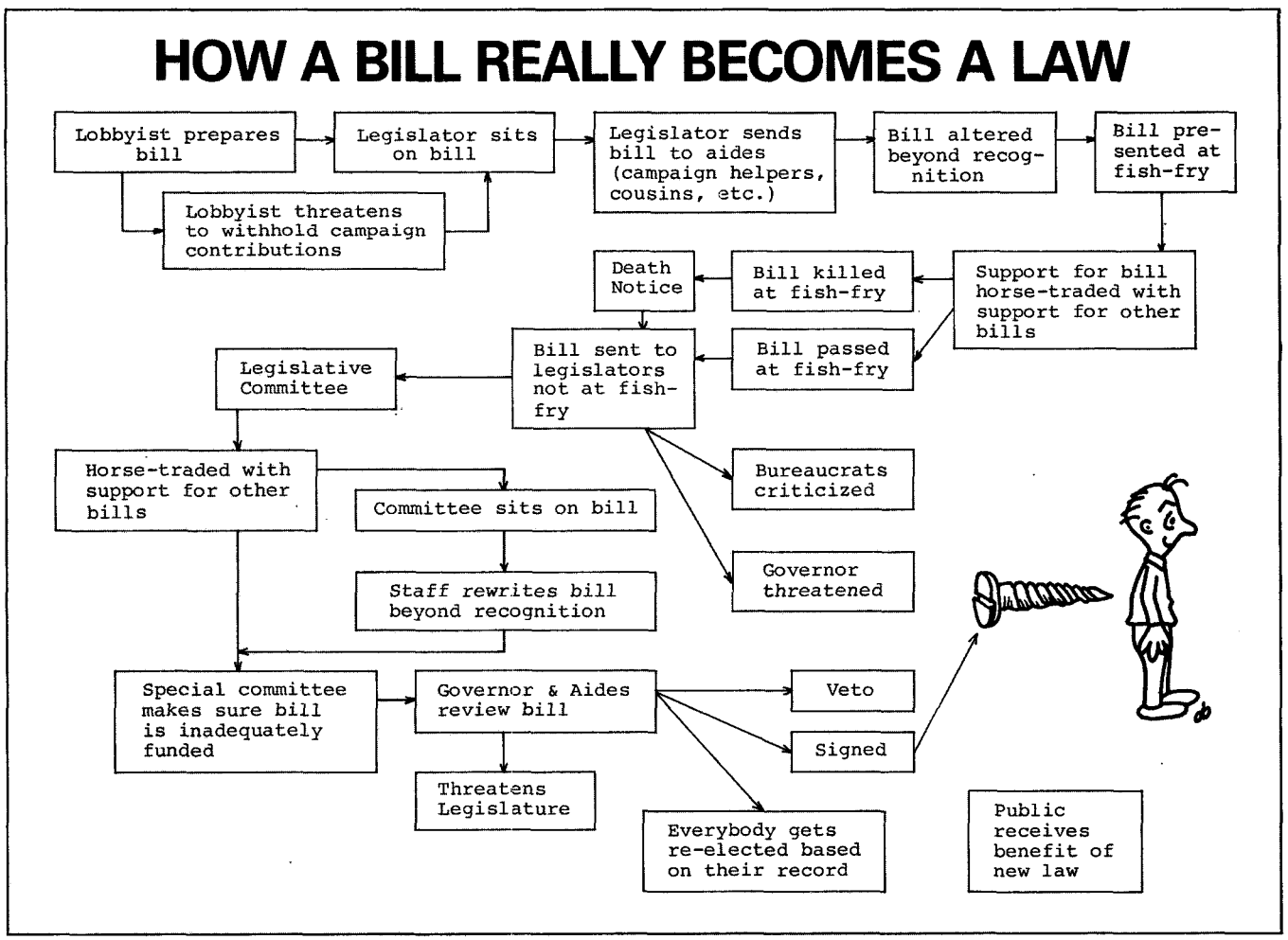
Pollster Jack Bentley of Long Beach let out the word on the day before the June primary that George Deukmejian would beat Mike Curb, 52-45, and Pete Wilson would get 35-40 percent of the vote and Pete McCloskey a bit over 25. The actual percentages: Duke, 51; Curb, 45; Wilson, 38; McCloskey, 25.3. But even Bentley isn't always right. He thought George Nicholson would beat Dave Stirling about 55-45, but who would have picked Nick at 67-33? Bentley also thinks that Ken Rietz did a marvelous job bringing Mike Curb back into the race after the debacle at Palm Springs early in the campaign. Bentley's secret: He concentrates on certain key Republican voters and keeps going back to them to detect swings.

For the record, the 20 percent conservationist rating for Senator Dan Boatwright (May issue) was from the California League of Conservation Voters, not the Sierra Club. Also for the record: The key staffer of the League, Carl Pope, is also a bigwig with the Sierra Club.

Here's the first sentence of a press release sent around the state by one Leo P. Sopicki: "The Lynwood City Council has decided to abolish the position of Public Information Officer currently held by Leo P. Sopicki." The remainder of the three-page release read like a job-wanted ad for Leo P. Sopicki.

Former Journal intern Libby Lane, now a reporter for the *Oroville Mercury*, writes that she and her husband have just purchased a three-bedroom home in Oroville at a cost of $48,500. Adds Libby: "My friends in the Bay Area think that's the down payment."

Tale from the Washington press corps: Straight-laced California Congressman Norman Shumway asked Republican colleague Gene Chappie how to woo the voters in his newly acquired mountain constituency. Chappie told Shumway to make the rounds of the bars, buy drinks for the house, get loaded himself, enter arm-wrestling contests and participate in any and all brawls that might develop. Shumway is supposed to have turned green.


HOW A BILL REALLY BECOMES A LAW
Lobbyist prepares bill
Legislator sits on bill
Legislator sends bill to aides (campaign helpers, cousins, etc.)
Bill altered beyond recognition
Bill presented at fish-fry
Lobbyist threatens to withhold campaign contributions
Death Notice
Bill killed at fish-fry
Support for bill horse-traded with support for other bills
Bill sent to legislators not at fish-fry
Bill passed at fish-fry
Legislative Committee
Horse-traded with support for other bills
Committee sits on bill
Bureaucrats criticized
Staff rewrites bill beyond recognition
Governor threatened
Special committee makes sure bill is inadequately funded
Governor & Aides review bill
Veto
Signed
Threatens Legislature
Everybody gets re-elected based on their record
Public receives benefit of new law

This legislative process chart is being circulated among state employees in Sacramento.

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CONTENTS

Tom versus Duke 229

By James R. Carroll

Issues, not personalities, promise to dominate the governor's race between Bradley and Deukmejian.

The statewide slates 232

Democratic veterans face some Republicans with familiar names; Wilson Riles has a November challenger.

Bird's recall: Will it fly? 234

By Robert P. Studer

The chief justice has history on her side as double-barreled efforts to remove her get under way.

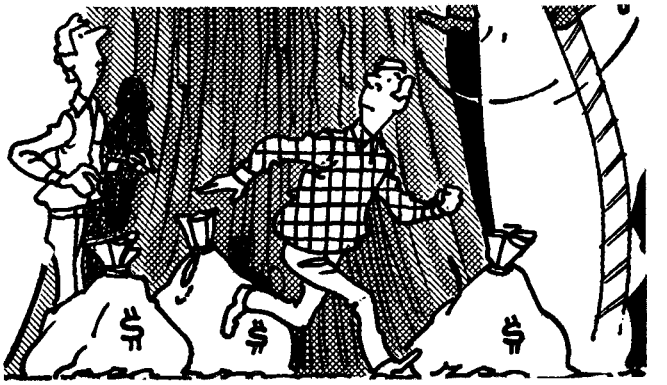
Special Section: '82 Election Analysis

Primary statistics and November previews are presented in this district-by-district roundup of all state races by Journal *editor Ed Salzman.*

Struggle for the Senate 253

By Michele Willens

Pete Wilson will aim at Jerry Brown's record while the governor hits Reaganomics and backs the nuclear freeze.



REPP-off in the forest 257

By Bob Aldrich

A plan to help some unemployed timber workers has turned into a gigantic federal giveaway.

Agency under siege 259

By Lillieanne Chase

Consumers and builders alike have plenty of complaints about the Contractors State Licensing Board.

The costly college door 261

By Joan Trask

The rising costs of higher education may force major changes on the state's farflung campuses.

Charting the issues 256 Washington perspective 263

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Personal

PERSPECTIVE

By Ed Salzman

Why not Cranston?

Ask any Eastern political writer to name the leading prospects for the Democratic presidential nomination in 1984, and you will get a list that starts with Senator Ted Kennedy and former Vice President Walter Mondale. The usual additions are Senators Gary Hart of Colorado and John Glenn of Ohio.

What about California's Alan Cranston, who has been flitting about the country actively seeking support in those states which select their convention delegates early? Cranston is the second ranking Democrat in the Senate, and he hails from the state with the largest bloc of convention votes. Why is he usually left off the list of prospects or just given passing mention? The reasons:

- He's too old. Cranston was born on June 19th, 1914, which would make him 70 by the time the election rolls around. Despite the success of Ronald Reagan, who is older than Cranston, age is still a significant factor.
- He's too gaunt. Cranston has a bald head and a trim, athletic body. Perhaps even more significantly, he doesn't look presidential. In an era of television politics, looks are more important than brains.
- He's too dull. Cranston cannot charm or mesmerize a television audience. He is extremely knowledgeable on a wide range of subjects, and he can present his views in an organized and articulate manner. But a William Jennings Bryan he is not.
- He's relatively unknown. Outside of California and the political community, Cranston is anything but a household name.

At one time in Cranston's career, another impediment would have been added: He's too liberal. Cranston was a founding father of the California Democratic Council and the United World Federalists. However, in recent years he has moved to the center and is no longer considered a radical leftist.

Cranston deserves a much better fate at the hands of those who handicap presidential politics. He is one of the most capable major officeholders in the country and is probably as equipped as anyone to be president. His main assets: He is very intelligent and has spent a lifetime studying public issues. He is a hard worker, who seemingly gives equal attention to issues that involve war and peace and to those that involve only a small part of his California constituency. He surrounds himself with good staffers, and he maintains close contact with public-affairs reporters. He is probably better equipped to handle the presidency than most of the candidates who have put themself forward since the dawn of the television era. If all the candidates for president were to take an examination covering the potential problems of a president, Cranston might well finish first. He certainly would be among the leaders.

If Cranston is so able, why is he wasting so much time and effort on an apparently fruitless campaign for the top political prize in the world? There are several answers: Like every politician, Cranston has a strong ego and feels compelled to seek the presidency even against long odds. After all, there is some chance that he could go to the convention with a large bloc of votes and emerge as a compromise candidate. There is also a chance that he could obtain the second place on the Democratic ticket. His age would not be nearly so great a handicap as a vice-presidential candidate (remember Alben Barkley?), and the Democratic nominee might anoint him in an effort to win California's electoral votes.

ROSTRUM

Short letters from subscribers are encouraged.

Brown the employer

I am not so sure that the appraisal of disappointment by public employees in the realization of their great hopes under Jerry Brown can be accepted as gospel ("Judging Jerry," *CJ*, June 1982). And the "very poor" rating attributed to the CSEA spokesman must be considered as a view of that leadership and staff, rather than of the rank and file.

As one who for 20-odd years was active in leadership roles among public employees in California, I find Brown's record in support of their interests to have been very good. It exceeds the support of his three predecessors.

Public employees enjoy collective bargaining, which was the top-priority objective before Brown. State employees have been given reasonable pay raises . . . Lower-paid employees have gained substantially . . . State employees also have gained fully paid health insurance, an employer-paid disability plan and a dental plan . . . Employee contributions to the retirement system have been reduced . . . Job security . . has been moderately good, considering what is happening at the federal and state level . . .

ROBERT J. SPIEGEL
San Francisco

Beating the drum

"The Highway Tax Hike Hardly Anyone Will Notice" (*CJ*, May 1982) accurately acknowledges that Senate Bill 215, last year's highway financing measure, is only a temporary solution to meeting the backlog of street and road needs in California . . .

Out of the passage of SB 215, to make sure "the drums still beat," is a statewide, bipartisan coalition called Californians for Better Transportation, composed of business, labor associations and private citizens . . .

Californians for Better Transportation believe that transportation should be a hot political issue in the gubernatorial campaign and a top priority for the new administration. Through our continuing public education program, we will be letting the voting public know how the candidates stand on funding and planning California's vital infrastructure . . .

JACK MALTESTER
Co-Chairman, Californians for Better Transportation

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Dull Tom and Cautious Duke

By JAMES R. CARROLL

Close that medicine cabinet — don't reach for the No-Doz quite yet. The governor's race *could* be interesting this fall. The two major candidates are likely to be debating issues rather than personalities and that, in itself, would be novel if not exciting.

The contest, of course, is between Democrat Tom Bradley, for more than eight years the mayor of Los Angeles, and Republican George Deukmejian, a veteran legislator who became attorney general almost four years ago. Neither candidate has ever been accused of excessive charisma. Bradley's media advisers, aware of his bland image, decided to turn the mayor's placidity into a plus. "Tom Bradley. He doesn't make a lot of noise. He just gets things done," was the message of his pre-primary television ads.

Deukmejian is more low-key about his low-key style, but his campaign slogan ("Deukmejian's got MISE: Maturity, Integrity, Stability, Experience") more or less implies that he isn't any noisier than Bradley.

Yet the backgrounds of both men suggest that their strengths lie in areas other than "mediagenics." Bradley, 64, has already recorded some near-impossible accomplishments. The son of poor sharecroppers in Calvert, Texas, Bradley came to California at the age of seven. He showed great promise as a student, and won a scholarship to UCLA where, among other things, he was a track star. Later he joined the Los Angeles Police Department at a time when black and white officers did not work together. Black officers, in fact, could only hope to rise as high as lieutenant. Bradley did that while studying law at night.

After 21 years on the force, he left to practice law. Just two years later he got himself elected to the Los Angeles City Council, where he was a calm voice during the racial tumult of his city in the 1960s. In 1969 Bradley challenged then-Mayor Sam Yorty. Race appeared to be a factor in Bradley's defeat in that race, but it was not a factor four years later when he won his first term as mayor of the state's largest city.

Deukmejian, 53, started his life in another state capital, Albany, New York. After earning a law degree from St. John's University School of Law in Brooklyn, he went into the Army, honing his skills as an attorney in the judge advocate corps in France. Later he moved to California. He first served as a deputy county counsel for Los Angeles, then was a partner in the Long Beach law firm of Riedman, Dalessi, Deukmejian and Woods. From there he began a slow but steady political career: four years in the Assembly, 12 years in the Senate. In 1978, "the Duke" became the state's top cop.

For Deukmejian, running for governor was the next logical step. But, as all Californians now know, winning the GOP nomination was no simple task. The other statewide Republican officeholder, Lieutenant Governor Mike Curb, had designs of his own on the executive suite in the Capitol. In one of the hardest fought, most vitriolic primary fights in state history — and the most expensive contest on record — Deukmejian prevailed. And he didn't do that by being a Caspar Milquetoast. When Curb charged in letters that Deukmejian was disloyal to Ronald Reagan and ran television spots calling the attorney general "a career politician," Deukmejian's ire was aroused. It was sometimes hard to tell: Deukmejian doesn't shout or pound tables, at least not in public. But he can put an edge on his voice and look so painfully serious that voters understand he is unhappy. Even though he often appeared uncomfortable doing it, Deukmejian jumped on Curb with two charges that seemed to cripple the lieutenant governor's effort in the final stretch: Curb didn't vote until he was 29 and was less trustworthy with the facts than Deukmejian. The final-week attack apparently worked.

Although the bitterness between the Deukmejian and Curb camps will linger some through the summer, the principals have done their best to bury the hatchet. Again and again, Deukmejian has been calling Curb "a gentleman" for boarding the attorney general's bandwagon so quickly after defeat. Deukmejian's favorite word this summer, it seems, will be "unity."

For Bradley, trying for governor also was the logical next step. Unlike Deukmejian, however, Bradley was blessed with a little more luck. Assembly Speaker pro Tempore Leo McCarthy of San Francisco and state Controller Kenneth Cory — both mentioned frequently as heavyweight gubernatorial contenders — begged off early. The California Democratic Party isn't churning out too many potential statewide leaders at the moment, so apparently it is Bradley's time.

Bradley, who assiduously evaded debates with Gara-

James R. Carroll covers the Capitol for The Register *(Orange County) and is a frequent contributor to the* Journal.

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mendi, is not facing any party unity problems. But, having puttered around the state in "idle" gear all spring, Bradley must now bring more attention to himself and begin building some all-important momentum. The polls show Bradley beating Deukmejian right now but — as the spring's political wars illustrated — change can occur quickly.

What's at stake

There are really two things at stake in the California governor's race. The first is obvious: the office itself. Both Bradley and Deukmejian sincerely believe they can make substantive contributions to state government. Beyond that is a less visible but more glittering brass ring: the national political stage and possibly the American presidency.

Three of this nation's four most recent presidents have laid some claim to California as their home state or second-home state. California has been producing presidential hopefuls for more than 30 years, dating back to Governor Earl Warren who ran on the national GOP ticket with Thomas Dewey in 1948. Governor Jerry Brown tested the presidential waters in 1976 and 1980, and U.S. Senator Alan Cranston is hinting at a 1984 campaign. In short, the importance of being a political leader from the nation's most populous state is unlikely to be lost on Bradley and Deukmejian.

Based on charisma, neither Deukmejian nor Bradley would normally be considered presidential potential. There is also the question of race: Can a black politician yet dream of the presidency? In fact, will Bradley's color be a factor in the gubernatorial campaign? For that matter, could a man with a name like Deukmejian be elected president? What counts is that politicians are dreamers. And once elected governor, either man might become afflicted with the disease known as presidentitis.

It is too early to tell what kind of governor Bradley or Deukmejian would make. Certainly, Deukmejian would captain a more conservative ship than Bradley, and Bradley a more conservative one than Jerry Brown. It is also clear that neither Bradley nor Deukmejian is imbued with the visionary fervor that has made the Brown years both eccentric and extraordinary. In short, the election of Bradley or Deukmejian will be, to use the phrase Warren Harding trumpeted on his own arrival in the White House, a return to "normalcy."

One Brown legacy which neither man will be able to ignore is his policy on appointments. To be sure, some of Brown's appointments remain controversial and probably will be targets for Deukmejian in the campaign. But state government has never had as many women and minorities in appointive positions, and it is unimaginable that Deukmejian or Bradley would be able to backtrack to the days when most appointive positions were filled with white males.

Beyond that, Deukmejian could be expected to choose tough, law-and-order types for the bench. He already has made criticism of Brown's judicial appointments a cornerstone of his campaign. Bradley's judges probably would be less conservative and more oriented toward social-justice issues.

Bradley would be faced with the problem of what to do with hundreds of Brown appointees. No doubt he would keep some of them, at least temporarily. But eventually his faithful followers would want Bradley appointments. After all, there would be many political debts to pay.

Dealing with legislators

A major test for either man will be his relations with the Legislature. In this area, it appears that Deukmejian would have an advantage. Having observed the past three gov-

fo'cus Cal'i·for'ni·a

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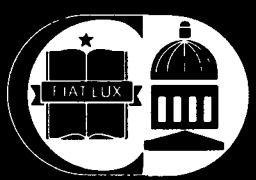

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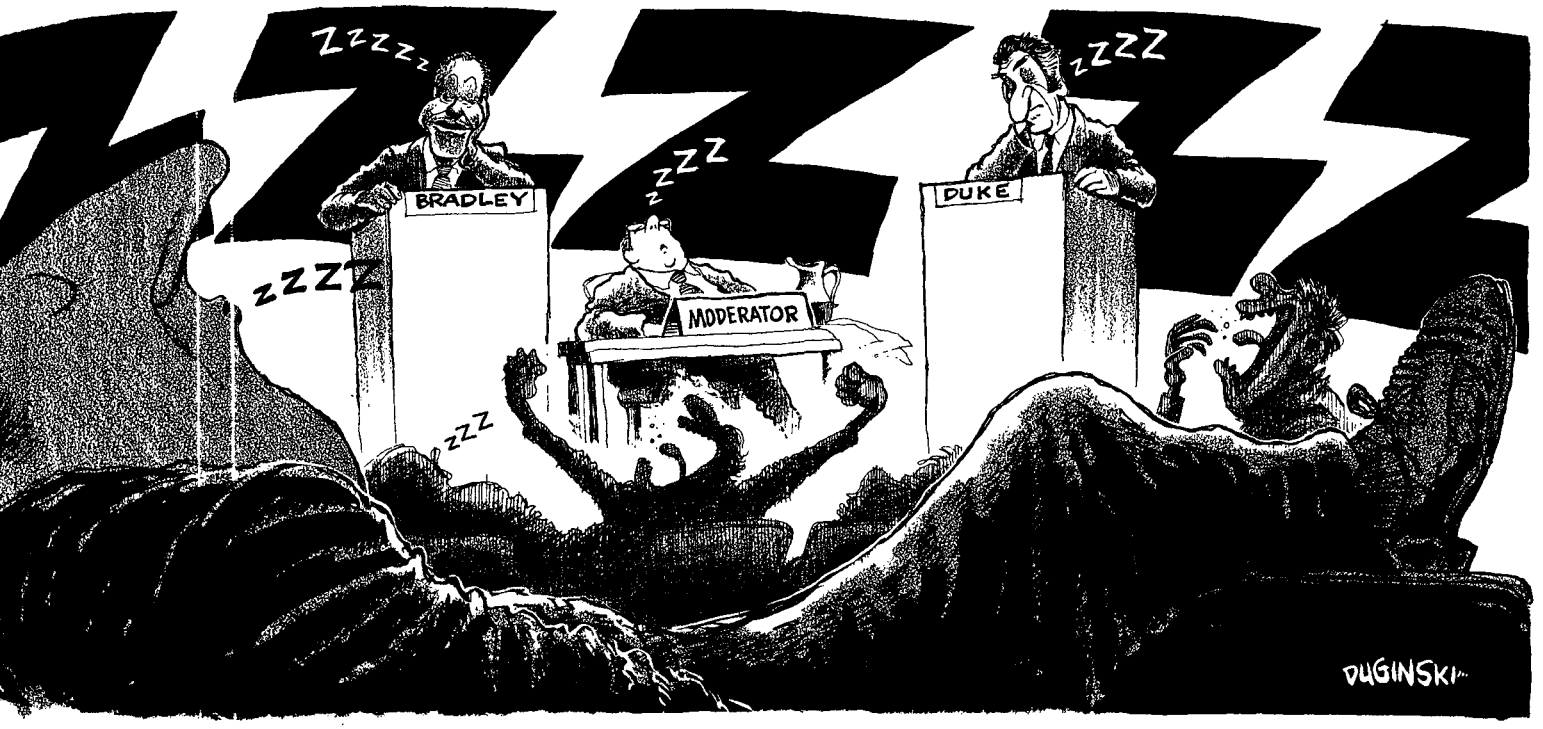

ernors at close range, Deukmejian no doubt has some ideas about how the state's chief executive should conduct business with the legislative branch. During his years as a lawmaker, Deukmejian earned a reputation as a reasonable man, not an ideologue. He knows how to get along. He gained friends among the Democrats, and he still has many friends in the Legislature on both sides of the aisle. For Deukmejian, working with the Legislature would be like old times.

Bradley, on the other hand, is essentially an unknown quantity in Sacramento. Even though he has been the mayor of California's largest and politically most powerful city, Bradley has been all but invisible on the legislative scene during the past eight years. It is Los Angeles' county supervisors who have come to the Capitol to do their city's and county's bidding for saving programs or boosting state aid — not Mayor Bradley. As a result, there is a perception — one that Bradley has not yet begun to dispel — that he is at best out of touch with many state issues or (to be less generous) uninformed about them.

Bradley's contacts in the Legislature are few, and his real legislative friends are fewer. But that could change. If, as expected, Gray Davis is elected to the Assembly, he could be one of the most influential freshman legislators in state history. Davis used to work for Bradley and, as chief of staff to Governor Jerry Brown, he served often as what the press liked to call "the real governor." Davis not only knows a lot about being governor and running the governor's office, but he knows a lot about dealing with the lawmakers. He would be a vital link with the Legislature in a Bradley Administration.

On the high road

Such speculation is less timely than are insiders' predictions about the campaigns which will determine November's outcome. Both men have agreed in principle to debate, and both are likely to stick to the high road. Disturbed by the nasty tone of the GOP primary, Bradley promptly asked Deukmejian to join him in signing a "fair campaign practices" agreement that, among other things, would hold each candidate to a promise to "refrain from personal attacks and name-calling." Whether that particular agreement is signed or not Bradley and Deukmejian are not go-for-the-jugular types.

Both men indicated after the primary that they want to talk about crime and economic issues. In separate press conferences in Sacramento, Deukmejian and Bradley accused each other of not being tough enough on crime.

Reaganomics will be more of a wild card in the political poker game. Bradley already has promised to make President Reagan's economic policies an issue in the campaign, stressing the high interest rates and record unemployment.

Curiously, Deukmejian is trying to use the unemployment and housing issues against Bradley, charging the mayor with inaction on those problems in his own city. Could this technique be risky, remiding the voters of the sagging national economy and the difficulties the Reagan Administration is having with it? The attorney general doesn't think so. "I'm confident the Reagan policies will be advantageous," he says. Interest rates have come down from 21 percent under President Jimmy Carter to 16 percent today, he adds, and inflation has dropped dramatically. California's unemployment, he insists, is a direct result of Governor Brown's "no-growth and slow-growth" policies.

Therein lies part of the Deukmejian strategy: to force Bradley to account for Jerry Brown's eight years in the governor's chair. "Tom Bradley's administration will be no different than Jerry Brown's as it relates to issues," Deukmejian insists. "Bradley has always supported the more liberal candidates in the Democratic Party, and as governor he would follow the traditional party philosophy of big government and ever-increasing spending." Bradley is having none of such comparisons. "I'll not be a duplicate of Jerry Brown or any other candidate," the mayor says.

Bradley and Brown indeed are very different Democrats, and it is not at all clear that Deukmejian will get enough voters to think of the mayor and the present governor as two peas in a pod. In fact, with few ties to Brown at all, Bradley has been indirectly critical of his fellow Democrat. For example, he has suggested that California has not done enough for business. In a pitch likely to appeal to many conservative Democrats who don't care much for Brown, Bradley promises: "I intend to improve California's business climate."

To get their messages across, Deukmejian and Bradley will be spending record sums. Deukmejian estimates he will need about $4.5 million, and Bradley's strategists say they could spend anywhere from $5 million to $7 million. With that kind of money, the two men could create a lot of excitement.

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The rest of the lineup

Lieutenant Governor

Democrat

Leo T. McCarthy, 51, is a San Francisco liberal who is best known for his six years of service in the second most powerful position in state government, speaker of the Assembly. He held the job from 1974 through the end of 1980, when he was replaced by fellow San Franciscan Willie Brown. During 1980, McCarthy waged a titanic struggle with his former floor leader, Howard Berman, for control of the Assembly — a contest neither won. McCarthy now serves as speaker pro tempore in the Assembly.

An attorney and native of New Zealand, McCarthy entered politics as an aide to the late state Senator J. Eugene McAteer of San Francisco. McCarthy was elected to the San Francisco board of supervisors in 1963 and to the Assembly five years later.

He chose to run for lieutenant governor this year after testing the waters for United States Senate. He was backed by virtually all elements of the party and faced no substantial opposition in the June primary election.

Hallett

McCarthy

Republican

Carol Hallett, 44, was chosen minority leader of the Assembly in 1979 after serving slightly more than two years in the Legislature. Her rise to a top leadership post was not as rapid as it seems, however. She was hardly a political neophyte upon being elected to office in 1976. She had worked for several years as an aide to former state Senator Donald Grunsky and the late Congressman Bill Ketchum.

Hallett is the first woman ever to be elected to a top leadership post in the Legislature. She resigned as GOP leader this year upon deciding to run for lieutenant governor. A native of Oakland and resident of Atascadero, Hallett is known as a spokesperson for agribusiness in the Legislature.

Hallett, who prefers Mrs. to Ms., flies her own plane back and forth between Sacramento and her central coast district.

Duffy

Eu

Secretary of State

Democrat

March Fong Eu, 60, first was elected secretary of state in 1974. She was re-elected in 1978 by a large margin. Prior to seeking statewide office, she served in the Assembly for six years, representing an Oakland-Castro Valley district.

A dental hygienist with a doctorate in education from Stanford University, she is the second woman to win election to a state constitutional office. (The late Ivy Baker Priest was the first.) A native of Oakdale, she once served on the Alameda County Board of Education.

When Eu first came to Sacramento as a legislator, she listed Oakland as her home. During her first term, she moved her official residence to Sacramento, but now she lives in Los Angeles. Her two terms as secretary of state have been relatively free of controversy.

Republican

Gordon W. Duffy, 58, has represented a Tulare-Kings county Assembly district since 1965. He decided that this year he must go up or get out, and he chose to challenge former legislative colleague March Fong Eu.

An optometrist from Hanford, Duffy has moved up the political ladder step by step. He served as a member of the Hanford planning commission, school board and city council. And he was mayor of the city when elected to the Assembly.

Duffy has been a voice of moderation in the Legislature and is one of the most popular members of the Assembly. He is considered an expert in governmental finance and on health issues.

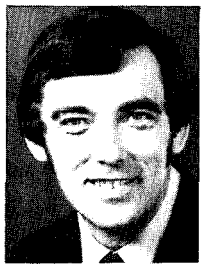
Controller

Democrat

J. Kenneth Cory, 44, decided to seek a third term as controller this year after testing the gubernatorial waters for many months. He was first elected controller in 1974 following eight years of service in the Assembly as a representative of Orange County.

A native of Kansas City, Missouri, Cory has been a fixture on the Sacramento scene for two decades. Prior to his election to the Legislature, he served as consultant to the Assembly Education Committee and as chief administrative officer of the Assembly. He has been a close associate of state Treasurer Jesse Unruh for many years and is considered one of the state's true experts on the complex issue of educational finance.

Cory assumed the controller's office in 1974 amid a great deal of publicity over the huge campaign contributions he had received from two Orange County supporters. He has remained free of major controversy ever since.



Cory

Flournoy

Republican

James L. Flournoy, 66, a Los Angeles attorney, is a perennial candidate for statewide office. He was the Republican nominee for secretary of state in 1970 and was defeated by now-Governor Edmund G. Brown. (He was the only member of the GOP statewide slate defeated that year.) He sought the nomination for controller unsuccessfully in 1974.

The nominee has benefited from voter confusion between James Flournoy and 1974 Republican gubernatorial nominee Houston I. Flournoy, who is no relation. Houston Flournoy served as state controller between 1967 and 1974.

James Flournoy is one of four blacks nominated for statewide office for the November election. (The others are Tom Bradley, Wilson Riles and Donald French.) He is a strong advocate of the

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f statewide candidates

establishment of "enterprise zones" in minority neighborhoods.

Treasurer

Democrat

Jesse M. Unruh, 59, is seeking his third term as state treasurer, a job that carries far less clout than the one he held for many years, speaker of the Assembly. As speaker from 1961 to 1969, he developed a national reputation for elevating the legislative branch of government to parity with the executive branch.

A native of Kansas, he was first elected to the Assembly in 1954. He left the Legislature 12 years ago to run for governor against the incumbent Republican, Ronald Reagan. Unruh ran a respectable race even though he was short of campaign cash and Reagan was personally popular with the electorate.

Unruh ran for mayor of Los Angeles in 1973, but he engineered his political revival the following year by winning election as state treasurer.

French

Unruh

Republican

Donald J. French, 35, is taking his second crack at the state treasurer's office. Now a resident of Pasadena, he ran unsuccessfully for local posts in Contra Costa County before taking his first shot at statewide office in 1978. He is one of two black candidates on the GOP statewide slate. (The other is James L. Flournoy, nominee for controller.)

A native of Portland, Oregon, French has been active in Republican volunteer organizations, which provided the base for his primary campaign. He served as a deputy state real estate commissioner during the Ronald Reagan gubernatorial administration. Over the past 14 years, he has held a variety of finance and banking positions. Four years ago, he lost to Jesse Unruh by more than 1.5 million votes.

Nicholson

Van de Kamp

Attorney General

Democrat

John Van de Kamp, 46, has served in the highly visible post of Los Angeles County district attorney since 1975, when he was appointed to the job by the Los Angeles County Board of Supervisors. He has since been elected to the office twice.

His name is well-known in Southern California, in part because he is a member of the prominent food-products family. A native of Pasadena, he has served as a federal prosecutor in Los Angeles, as director of the executive office of United States attorneys in Washington, D.C., and as federal public defender for the central district of California. A native of Pasadena, he ran for Congress in 1969 but was defeated in a special election.

Van de Kamp has survived adverse publicity stemming from the shredding of Los Angeles police files and is now the beneficiary of favorable publicity arising from his leadership in the campaign to prevent the parole of Sirhan Sirhan.

Republican

George Nicholson, 40, a senior assistant attorney general, is a novelty in California politics. He is a Northern Californian, with roots in Oakland and Sacramento, who has defeated a Southern Californian, Assemblyman Dave Stirling, in a tight primary.

Nicholson, an outspoken New Right conservative, probably will be one of the most controversial figures in this year's general-election campaign. A former deputy district attorney in Alameda County, he headed the California District Attorneys' Association from 1976 to 1979. His financial stewardship of that organization has come under question.

Nicholson joined the attorney general's office in 1979 as one of George Deukmejian's 17 senior assistants. He is proud of his role in helping to draft this June's Proposition 8, the so-called Victims' Bill of Rights, and he calls himself "the most effective criminal justice expert, in my view, in the state."

Superintendent of Public Instruction

Incumbent

Wilson Riles, 65, is trying for his fourth term as the state's chief school administrator. He drew a potent field in June, in part because there was a belief in the state's political community that he would retire after his current term.

Riles, a native of Louisiana, is a career educator who defeated his former boss, the controversial Max Rafferty, in a highly charged election in 1970. He has retained the office without heavyweight opposition until this year. During the past 12 years, he has won legislative approval for some so-called educational reform programs, including Early Childhood Education and School Improvement Plans.

Riles

Honig

Challenger

Louis (Bill) Honig Jr., 44, seems to be trying for his umpteenth career. The San Franciscan has served as a lawyer, teacher, advertising executive, Army medical service officer and local school superintendent.

Honig has raised a huge sum of money, much of it from family resources, to emerge from the pack and force incumbent Wilson Riles into a November runoff. He has served as superintendent of the small Reed Union Elementary School District in Marin County since 1979 and as a member of the state Board of Education since 1975. He claims that the quality of California education can be improved through tightened discipline and the use of a core-curriculum system. He taught in San Francisco from 1972 to 1976, after practicing law and working in the family advertising business.

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The historical odds against a Rose Bird recall

By ROBERT P. STUDER

It has been 46 years since California voters first hauled out their most devastating political weapon, the recall, and tried to unseat Governor Frank Finley Merriam. His critics had a five-point indictment in mind — including accusations that the governor was too chummy with lobbyists and "professional politicians" and that he had schemed secretly to push through a tax program.

The effort failed. The campaign hardly got off the ground, and recall of a statewide officer has never been accomplished since — although not for lack of trying. There have been 33 attempts to use the recall against state officials since it was added to the voters' arsenal by Governor Hiram Johnson following his election on a reform platform in 1910. (Johnson had shocked the establishment of the day by winning election after stumping the entire state by automobile, the first time that a car had been so used in a political campaign in California.)

Of those 33 attempts at recall, 15 were launched against governors, including four against current Governor Jerry Brown. Four others were aimed at the Supreme Court — one against the entire court in 1966 and the others against Chief Justice Rose Bird in 1981 and 1982. Six campaigns have been waged against members of the state Senate and eight against members of the Assembly. (See box.)

Only twice have voters recalled an elected official. In both cases the targets were state senators, so the action was confined to the individual districts.

In 1913 voters succeeded in recalling Senator Marshall Black of the 28th District in Santa Clara County. He later went to prison on charges that he had embezzled funds from a Palo Alto building and loan firm. Then, in 1914, Senator Edwin E. Grant of the 19th District in San Francisco was recalled following charges that he had "voted to exclude liquor from the State Exposition, voted against a five-day waiting period for marriages, and against a plan to exclude all but the state from printing school books." (The real issue, though, according to the *San Francisco Examiner* of the time, was that he had succeeded in passing a "Red Light Abatement" bill in the Legislature.)

That same year, the people tried again with a recall against Senator James C. Owens of the 9th District in Marin and Contra Costa counties, but their anger ran out of steam before election day. The drive to recall Owens failed — as have dozens of efforts since then.

A double drive

What, then, gives the sponsors of current efforts to recall Rose Elizabeth Bird as chief justice of the California Supreme Court the idea they can do better? Why are two separate groups of citizens gunning for Bird, both of them facing the formidable task of gathering 731,244 signatures on petitions necessary to place the issue on the ballot?

Marvin Feldman, a resident of La Canada in Southern California, is a chief spokesman for one statewide committee committed to Bird's recall. His group already has received clearance from the secretary of state for a signature-gathering campaign. Feldman explains the drive this way: "The public is acutely aware of the tremendous increase in crime — and that judicial sympathies seem to be more with the rights of the criminal than those of the victims. Now, we believe, there is sufficient concern for the voting public to do something about it."

Republican state Senator H.L. (Bill) Richardson and Orange County Deputy District Attorney Tony Rackauckas are chief spokesmen for the second group, the "Recall Bird Alliance." They also are readying a statewide campaign, convinced that the time is right for a successful drive against the chief justice.

This will be the second get-Bird attempt within a year for Feldman. Last September a group headed by Feldman, Rackauckas, Don Floyd of San Diego and Ingrid Azvedo of the Sacramento suburb of Elk Grove launched a similar recall drive, but they fell short of the required number of signatures. The group broke up after internal squabbling broke out among its leadership.

Feldman immediately launched another attempt, and on April 26th his restructured group was cleared by the secretary of state for a new drive. This time Feldman's team includes John Horn of the Sacramento suburb of Fair Oaks, Ellen Rush of Irvine, Barbara Wallace of Stockton and Peggy Sadler of Simi Valley.

Feldman concedes that he has been having "a few difficulties raising the necessary dollars." However, he says he has a promise of $25,000 to pay for a first statewide mailing of petitions, and $25,000 more when that is completed, to "get things started."

The new Feldman recall attempt alleges Bird's "incompetent leadership" is causing the California Supreme Court "to significantly deteriorate." It cites what its sponsors see as examples of Bird's "opposing the will of the people and usurping legislative power." It attacks her for "consistently opposing our death penalty law" and criticizes her for having "had no prior judicial experience."

Bird has prepared a response, as is her right under the law. Her rebuttal, which will appear on the recall petitions, says ". . . there is no greater honor in a democracy than to be a public servant . . . I took an oath to uphold the Constitution of our state and nation and to protect it against all enemies, domestic and foreign. I have tried faithfully to keep that oath. The statements of the recall proponents are false."

Bird also quotes from a recent *Los*

Robert P. Studer is the Capitol bureau chief for Copley News Service.

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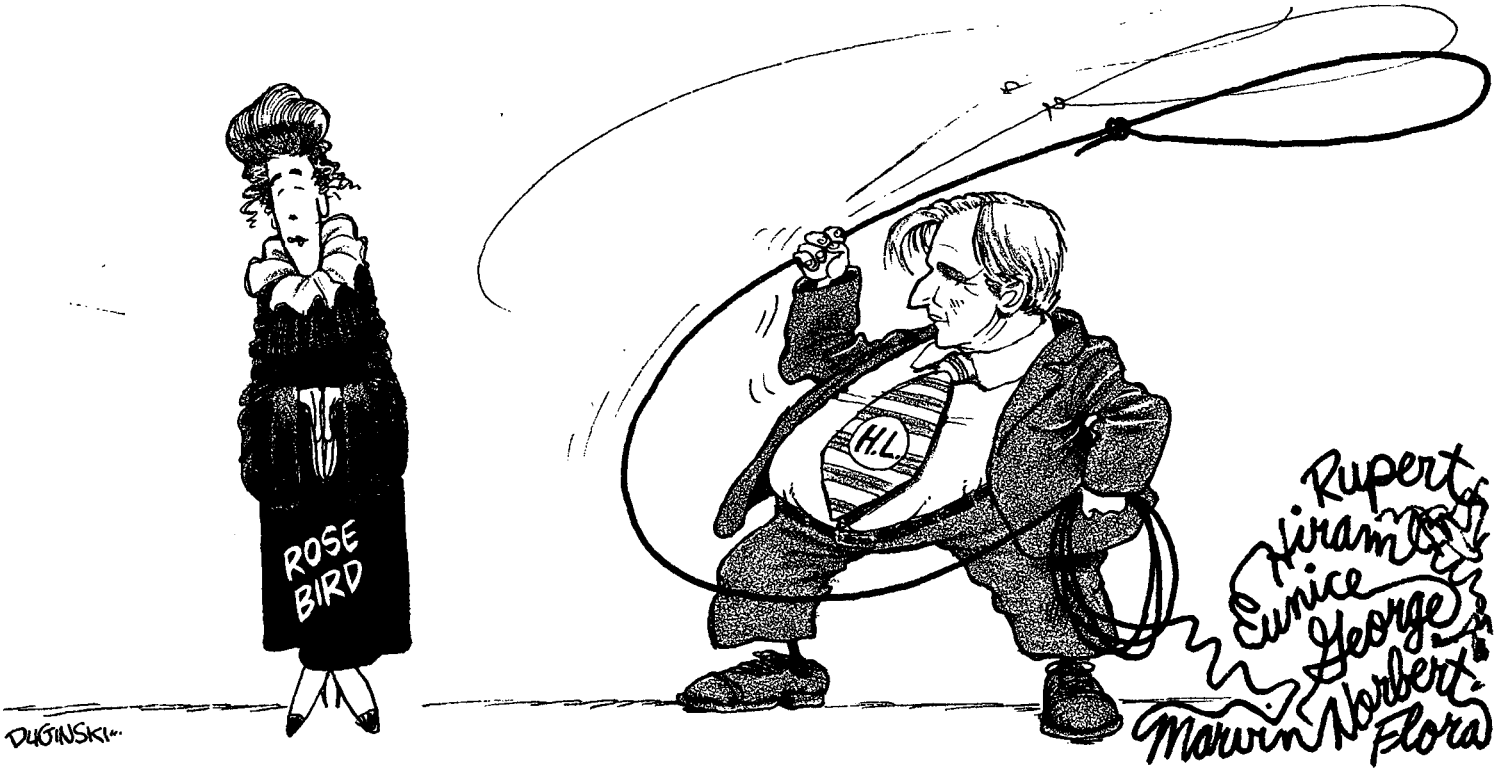

Angeles Times editorial: "The recall should be defeated. It is inspired by ideological zealots who want to bend the state Supreme Court to their will." She quotes former Chief Justice Donald Wright, a Ronald Reagan appointee to the court: "They are trying to destroy the independence of the judiciary." From former Chief Justice Phil Gibson, a Governor Olson appointee to the court, she quotes: "We have a system that works, and we had better keep it. Rose Bird's done a good job."

Feldman and his group have until October 4th to gather sufficient signatures to place the recall issue before the voters in early 1983. It would be possible, according to Secretary of State March Fong Eu, that if the recall qualifies in record-breaking time, a vote could be held in late 1982. But, she adds, "this would seem to be unlikely."

Recall of a chief justice requires the gathering of signatures equal to 12 percent of the total vote on the chief justice in 1978. They must be collected in at least five different counties and must equal at least 1 percent of the last vote in each of them for that office. Proponents are given 160 days to circulate the petitions. If the recall qualifies for a statewide vote, the governor would be required to call a special election to be held not less than 60 days nor more than 80 days from the date the signatures were certified as sufficient (which could be as late as November 2nd). This would put such an election in January or February.

Should the chief justice be recalled, the vacancy would be filled by the governor in office at the time. The voters would not elect her successor, although they would have an opportunity to confirm or reject the governor's choice at a regular statewide election in 1986, as they did Bird's selection for an unexpired term in 1978.

Meanwhile, notice of the second attempt to recall Bird was filed with the secretary of state on April 22nd by the group headed by Richardson, Rackauckas, Assemblywoman Carol Hallett, Senior Assistant Attorney General George Nicholson and Republican Assemblyman Patrick Nolan of Glendale. Once the petition format is approved and Bird's rebuttal is included, it, too, will have 160 days in which to gather the necessary 731,244 signatures.

The Richardson-Rackauckas group alleges in its recall notice that Bird has "failed to render timely judicial decisions" and has "effectively nullified . . . the people's right to the referendum and the initiative process;" that she has "failed to recognize the separation of powers between the Legislature and the judiciary;" that she has been "callous to victims of crime, hostile to law enforcement and over-protective of criminals." They also allege "consistent attempts to block the death penalty initiative."

Bird's response includes this: "H.L. Richardson wants a judiciary that will rubber-stamp his extremist views. He

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would jeopardize our Constitution and our Bill of Rights, and all of us would be the victims."

Thus, what began as a trickle of controversy when Rose Bird was appointed in 1977 has now become a torrent of opposition. Richardson is one of the more potent leaders of conservative opinion in the state, and his skills at fund raising and signature gathering by sophisticated computer technology are legendary.

However, Richardson's own mail firm, Computer Caging of Citrus Heights, a Sacramento suburb, will not be directly involved in the campaign, he says. A minor flap erupted in Sacramento over this point when Attorney General George Deukmejian, then campaigning for governor, accused Richardson of "personally profiting" from the pending recall drive, a charge vehemently denied by the senator from Arcadia. (Richardson is a political ally of Lieutenant Governor Mike Curb who was Deukmejian's chief opponent for the GOP gubernatorial nomination.)

Nevertheless, Richardson's skills could be a powerful factor in such a drive, for which he estimates $400,000 will be needed. He has said in the past that he "wouldn't get involved in such a campaign" unless he thought he could win. The drive already has a $50,000 seed fund and will use computerized, direct-mail, petition-fund-drive techniques.

Rackauckas is the deputy district attorney who successfully prosecuted Orange County's notorious "Freeway Killer" case. He has taken a leave of absence to act as executive director of the Rose Bird Recall Alliance. The Alliance is starting out with endorsements from the Association of Orange County Deputy Sheriffs, the San Diego and Imperial County chapters of the Police Officers Research Association of California, the San Diego Police Officers Association, the Citizens' Committee for Justice, the Citizens' Committee to Stop Crime (the Paul Gann organization behind the Proposition 8 "Victim's Bill of Rights" initiative on the June ballot), California Criminal Action Committee, Citizens for Law and Order and Citizens for Truth.

According to Richardson, the Alliance will have as its co-finance chairmen Julian Virtue and Robert Tuttle, son of Southern California Republican power broker Holmes Tuttle. State lawmakers and conservative activists backing the drive include William Baker, Dennis L. Brown, William Campbell, William H. Craven, Ed Davis, John Doolittle, Paul Eckert, Jim Ellis, Gerald N. Felando, Paul Fordem, Nolan Frizzelle, Carol Hallett, Wally Herger, William Ivers, Ray Johnson, Ernest Konnyu, William Leonard, John Lewis, Gilbert R. Marguth, Robert Naylor, Jim Nielsen, Patrick J. Nolan, Dan O'Keefe, Don Rogers, Newton R. Russell, Don Sebastiani, Ollie Speraw, Stan Statham, Cathie Wright, Richard F. Pacileo, Albert M. Leddy, Christoper Money and Don Stahl.

Law enforcement and attorney groups are joining the effort, according to Rackauckas, because they believe Bird has undermined morale among judges, court staff and law enforcement throughout the state "by continually changing the rules of legal procedure. When the Supreme Court rules on a case," he says, "its decision not only affects the case at issue but also every other similar case in the state in the future. We cannot expect to make any significant inroads into our state crime situation until we do something about the Supreme Court."

If either campaign collects enough signatures to get a recall question on the ballot, the defenders of Rose Bird can be expected to organize quickly. She will have considerable support from many attorneys, judges and others who consider the drive to get Bird as a serious threat to the integrity and independence of the entire judiciary.

Any recall battle would undoubtedly be costly and bitter. But Bird would have one strong ally that her opponents lack: the historical precedent that a statewide recall has never yet succeeded.

RECALL SCORECARD: 2-31

There have been 33 attempts to recall elected state officials in California. Only three have qualified for the ballot. The targets: state Senator Marshall Black, 28th District, Santa Clara County, in 1913; state Senator Edwin E. Grant, 19th District, San Francisco, in 1913-14; and state Senator James C. Owens, 9th District, Marin and Contra Costa counties, in 1914.

Only the first two succeeded, against Black and Grant. Since then recalls against the following officials have all failed:

Senator Owens (1914); Governor Frank Finley Merriam (1936); Governor Culbert L. Olson (1939); Governor Olson (1939); Governor Olson (1939); Governor Olson (1940); Governor Edmund G. "Pat" Brown (1960); Assemblyman William F. Stanton, 25th District, Santa Clara County (1965); Assemblyman John Burton, 20th District, San Francisco County (1965); Assemblyman Willie L. Brown, 18th District, San Francisco County (1965); Assemblyman William F. Stanton (1965); Governor Brown (1965); Governor Brown (1965); all justices of state Supreme Court, Justices Traynor, Mosk, Tobriner, Peek, Burke and Peters (1966); Senator Joseph Kennick, 33rd District, Fresno and Madera counties (1967); Assemblyman David Negri, 41st District, Los Angeles (1967); Governor Ronald Reagan (1967); Assemblyman Charles W. Meyers, 19th District, San Francisco County (1967); Governor Reagan (1968); Governor Reagan (1972); Governor Edmund G. Brown Jr. (1977); Assemblyman Carmen Perino, 26th District, San Joaquin and Stanislaus counties (1979); Assemblyman John Thurman, 27th District, Stanislaus County (1979); Governor Brown (1979); Governor Brown (1979); Governor Brown (1980); Senator Alan Robbins, 20th District, Los Angeles County (1980); Senator Robbins (1980); Chief Justice Rose Bird (1981); Chief Justice Bird (in process, 1982); Chief Justice Bird (in process, 1982).

Source: secretary of state.

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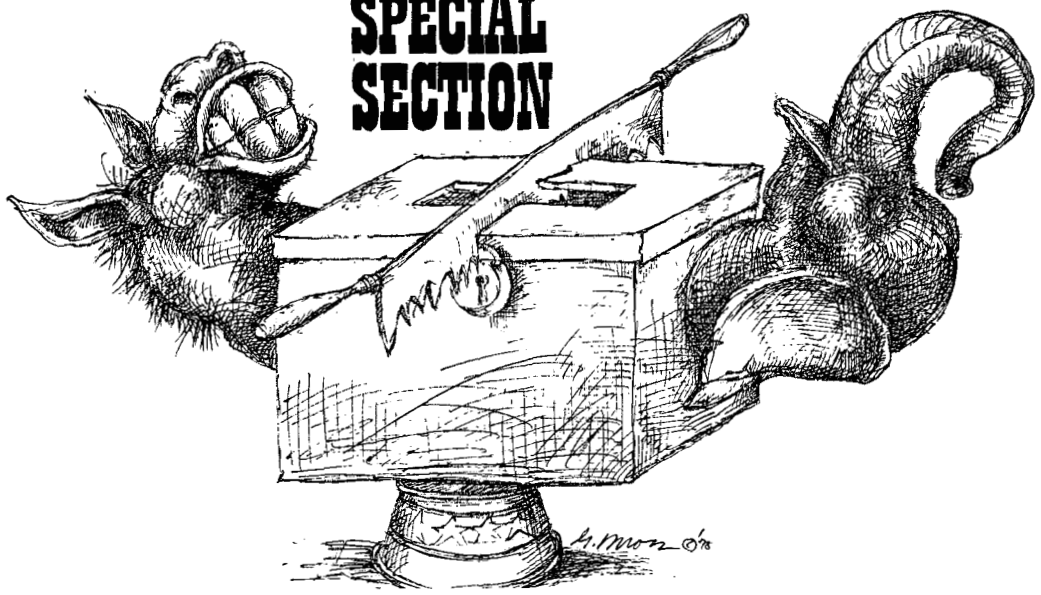

PRIMARY ANALYSIS AND OUTLOOK FOR NOVEMBER

• Tight battle at the top
• A Brown campaign against Reagan
• Demo control of the Legislature

By ED SALZMAN

An issue that wasn't even listed on the June primary ballots could emerge as the most important decision before the voters on November 2nd — whether to retain or replace four members of the state Supreme Court. Hispanic leaders are fearful that the first Latino ever appointed to the state Supreme Court, Cruz Reynoso, may be a target of conservatives in November. Two other Jerry Brown appointees to the court, Justices Allen Broussard and Otto Kaus, also could find themselves facing difficult political battles — even though Kaus is generally considered a conservative. A fourth associate justice, veteran Frank Richardson, is not expected to be a target.

And even before the dust has settled on a hot bundle of state propositions, including the Peripheral Canal referendum, there are indications that there will be even more torrid ballot measures facing the voters in November. Among the most controversial ones: nuclear weapons freeze, gun control, drink-container deposits, a reapportionment commission and water conservation.

The June primary provided little solid evidence on how the electorate will sway in November. Among the questions to be answered:

- **Will the economic** policies of the Reagan Administration be a major factor in California's political decisions?
- **Can Jerry Brown** rebound by attaching himself to the growing peace movement and by attacking Reagan? Who will win the debates between Brown and the Republican nominee, Pete Wilson?
- **Will Tom Bradley** be helped or hurt by the fact that he is black? Will Republicans unify behind George Deukmejian following his bitter, topsy-turvy battle with Mike Curb? Will Bradley and Deukmejian present dramatically different proposals to solve the state's fiscal crisis?
- **Will campaign costs** continue to skyrocket, and will the voters finally rebel against the dirty tricks employed by some campaign-management firms?

One of the reasons the mood of the voters is somewhat puzzling is that the Republicans selected two moderates — Pete Wilson and George Deukmejian — as standard bearers. At the same time, voters went conservative on ballot measures and in some races lower on the ballot.

The key issues supported by Governor Brown were defeated, and some of the key candidates supported by Senate Democratic leader David Roberti were rejected. On the other hand, the Berman-Waxman organization in Southern California won most of its battles, and the primary provided some opportunities for gains by women, blacks and Latinos.

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Governor

Judging by past performance, the campaign for governor between Democrat Tom Bradley and Republican George Deukmejian should be a dull affair based more on issues than personality. The polls indicate that Bradley starts the campaign with a small advantage — so small that the race can be rated even.

DEMOCRAT		
John Hancock Abbott	26,600	(1%)
Hugh G. Bagley	39,863	(1%)
Tom Bradley	**1,700,264**	**(61%)**
John Garamendi	699,666	(25%)
Jules Kimmett	15,016	(1%)
Raymond V. Liebenberg	14,991	(1%)
Genevieve Grafe Marcus	15,861	(1%)
Mario Obledo	130,222	(5%)
Linda Irene Parnell	44,931	(2%)
Josephum S. Ramos	12,779	(1%)
Allen Lee Seaman	12,640	(1%)
Frank L. Thomas	50,392	(2%)
Ben Trevino	19,008	(1%)
REPUBLICAN		
William Clark	44,139	(2%)
Mike Curb	996,875	(45%)
George Deukmejian	**1,141,338**	**(51%)**
Mike Hirt	25,225	(1%)
James C. Mansfield	23,813	(1%)
AMERICAN INDEPENDENT		
James C. Griffin	**16,782**	
PEACE AND FREEDOM		
Elizabeth Martinez	**4,059**	**(55%)**
Jan B. Tucker	3,366	(45%)
LIBERTARIAN		
Dan P. Dougherty	**13,234**	

From the start of the primary campaign, it was obvious that the mayor of Los Angeles had a lock on the Democratic nomination. His main competition was provided by a mediagenic state senator from the Gold Rush country, John Garamendi, who was unknown in Southern California. Garamendi accomplished his goal, getting about a quarter of the vote and setting the stage for an all-out assault on statewide office in some future year. Mario Obledo, former Brown Administration secretary of health and welfare, entered the race in part to help generate political enthusiasm in the Hispanic campaign. He had limited funds and ran an amateurish campaign. His support was far below the hopes of Latino political leaders.

One of the year's big shows was the heated primary battle between Attorney General Deukmejian and Lieutenant Governor Mike Curb. The primary can be separated into four segments, with the candidates swapping the lead. Curb, who has been viewed by some of his supporters as the reincarnation of Ronald Reagan, started the campaign with a huge lead in money and Republican support. He was hurt badly by an anti-press outburst at a GOP meeting in Palm Springs, and the campaign took a sudden turn. The money started flowing toward Deukmejian, and the polls put the attorney general ahead. Curb was all but counted out with such heavy momentum running to Deukmejian.

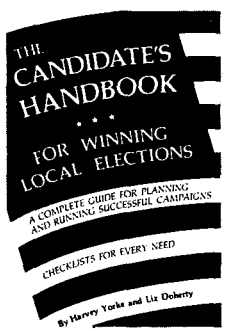
But Deukmejian apparently started sitting on his laurels. Curb campaign manager Ken Rietz then directed one of the best comebacks in California political history. First, voters were barraged with testimonials from such GOP stalwarts as Senator Ed Davis and former Los Angeles Sheriff Peter Pitchess testifying to Curb's integrity and suitability for leadership. Curb then took a stand against the Peripheral Canal and hit Deukmejian with charges questioning his loyalty to Ronald Reagan and true conservative causes. The polls soon showed Curb ahead — and by a substantial margin.

Deukmejian was told by advisers, some from out of state, that he had better take off the gloves or he was going to be defeated. Deukmejian, who does not enjoy being a slasher, used the fact that Curb did not register to vote until he was 29 as the vehicle for a counter-attack. Mailers, television commercials and full-page newspaper ads hit Curb with charges that he was "too busy" to support Ronald Reagan and the death penalty. Pollsters report that the Deukmejian attack worked, and Curb lost his lead in the final week of the campaign.

The returns show that Curb would have been defeated by an even larger margin except for his opposition to the Peripheral Canal, which won him the votes of anti-canal northerners.

Senate

Can Governor Brown pull off another of his patented political-magic acts and defeat Pete Wilson in November? The polls indicate that the mayor of San Diego starts the Senate campaign with a substantial lead over Brown, who won barely half of the Democratic primary vote — hardly an impressive accomplishment for an incumbent governor.



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The big question is probably how the two candidates will look in the series of debates that will be conducted this fall. Brown is an agile debater, and he will be able to put the Reagan label on Wilson, whether he likes it or not. But the personalities of the two candidates will be assessed by the voters. Wilson does not always do well on television. He has a whiny voice, and he sometimes comes across as a smart-aleck. If he is not careful, he could make Brown look like a nice guy — just as Pierre Salinger did in his debates with George Murphy almost 20 years ago.

Brown chose not to conduct an active primary campaign, taking it for granted that he would defeat the likes of Gore Vidal, Paul Carpenter and Daniel Whitehurst without spending much money. That may have been a mistake. His image needs repair, and he may have wasted some construction time.

The big question in the Republican primary was whether Wilson became the GOP nominee by default or whether he is genuinely popular with the electorate. Look at his main opposition: The runner-up, Congressman Pete McCloskey, is a maverick-liberal who is considered akin to a traitor by some conservative Republicans. McCloskey was never able to establish a strong Southern California beachhead. The frontrunner, Barry Goldwater Jr., was running on his father's name, and GOP commanders recognized that he would be no match for Brown in debate. Goldwater apparently was incapable of withstanding scrutiny, and his campaign had to go downhill. Congressman Bob Dornan, who figured to pick up the conservative mantle, never mustered a respectable campaign.

DEMOCRAT		
Edmund G. Brown Jr.	**1,370,892**	**(51%)**
Walter R. Buchanan	54,941	(2%)
Ray Caplette	31,387	(1%)
Paul B. Carpenter	408,629	(15%)
May Dubinsky-Chote	30,286	(1%)
Bob Hampton	36,925	(1%)
Tom Metzger	75,593	(3%)
Richard Morgan	93,602	(4%)
Gore Vidal	406,726	(15%)
William F. Wertz Jr.	30,456	(1%)
Daniel K. Whitehurst	163,926	(6%)
REPUBLICAN		
Robert K. Booher	7,388	
Ted Bruinsma	36,718	(2%)
Rafael Cortes	7,884	
Robert K. Dornan	177,658	(8%)
Barry Goldwater Jr.	399,095	(18%)
John J. Hickey	7,623	
Pete McCloskey	564,880	(26%)
Edison P. McDaniels	6,809	
William H. Pemberton	5,728	
Maureen E. Reagan	116,145	(5%)
John G. Schmitz	47,198	(2%)
William Shockley	8,188	
Pete Wilson	**831,884**	**(38%)**
AMERICAN INDEPENDENT		
Theresa Dietrich	**14,980**	
PEACE AND FREEDOM		
David Wald	**7,340**	
LIBERTARIAN		
Joseph Fuhrig	**12,577**	

Wilson artfully picked up the pieces and won running away. Yet the question remains whether Wilson won because of his appeal or because of the ineptitude of Goldwater and the unacceptability of McCloskey.

Lieutenant Governor

The rhetoric of the Legislature will be transferred to the contest for lieutenant governor this fall. The Democratic nominee, Leo McCarthy of San Francisco, and the Republican victor, Carol Hallett of Atascadero, used to face off in the Assembly when he was speaker and she was GOP floor leader.

The voters will have a clear choice between a liberal Democrat and a conservative Republican. Both have long experience in the political world (both started as aides to state senators), and the campaigns should be handled in a professional manner.

DEMOCRAT		
Leo T. McCarthy	**1,738,550**	**(73%)**
Charles Pineda Jr.	244,919	(10%)
Robert Lee Smith	176,032	(7%)
Bill Watkins	220,196	(9%)
REPUBLICAN		
Marz Garcia	509,129	(25%)
Carol Hallett	**1,529,165**	**(75%)**
AMERICAN INDEPENDENT		
Houston A. Myers	**15,199**	
PEACE AND FREEDOM		
Clyde Kuhn	**6,400**	
LIBERTARIAN		
John R. Vernon	**7,254**	**(58%)**
B.J. Wagener	5,340	(42%)

McCarthy had only token opposition in the primary as his reward for pulling out of the U.S. Senate race against Governor Brown. Hallett was opposed by state Senator Marz Garcia of San Mateo County, but Garcia was hardly a threat because he had little statewide name recognition and only limited funds. Hallett even whipped Garcia solidly in the San Francisco Bay area.

Early in the campaign process, Hallett's candidacy was linked with that of Mike Curb. But Hallett divorced herself from the lieutenant governor after it became apparent that the GOP gubernatorial nomination might go to George Deukmejian.

Secretary of State

Secretary of State March Fong Eu may have to mount a major campaign to win a third term this year. In her previous elections, she has been a runaway winner over Brian Van Camp and Jay Margosian, both relatively unknown to the electorate.

But her opponent this year, veteran Assemblyman Gordon Duffy of Hanford, is an experienced politican who might be able to raise a fair amount of money and generate GOP enthusiasm for his candidacy. Duffy ran a strong primary, defeating 1978 nominee Margosian by an enormous margin. Duffy even licked Margosian in his home county, Contra Costa.

DEMOCRAT		
March Fong Eu (Inc.)	**1,983,725**	**(76%)**
Helen Howard	180,350	(7%)
Alice Keyser	194,124	(8%)
Kenneth R. Smith	241,002	(9%)
REPUBLICAN		
Gordon Duffy	**1,054,795**	**(59%)**
Jay Margosian	362,958	(20%)
Glenn Rose	364,491	(20%)
AMERICAN INDEPENDENT		
Alfred W. Smith	**15,917**	
PEACE AND FREEDOM		
Milton Takei	**6,430**	
LIBERTARIAN		
Martin E. Buerger	**12,252**	

Californians rarely oust incumbent secretaries of state, and Eu enjoys a good public image. But Duffy didn't give up

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his safe seat in the Legislature to run a pro forma campaign and accept defeat by a million votes.

Controller

It would probably take a bizarre development or a Republican sweep to prevent Democrat Ken Cory from winning a third term as state controller this year. Cory, who ran for re-election reluctantly after aiming for the governorship, drew a weak opponent for November.

The Republican field was a five-candidate crap shoot because none of the candidates ran a heavy-duty media campaign, and any of them had a chance for victory. Out of the field emerged James L. Flournoy, a perennial candidate who has a history of doing fairly well in June and wilting through the summer heat. Flournoy is a Los Angeles lawyer who is often confused in primaries with former state Controller Houston I. Flournoy.

The GOP high command will all but concede the election to Cory. Had state Senator Ollie Speraw of Long Beach won the primary, Cory might have faced a well-financed opponent. Speraw has personal wealth and is also tied to the organization of Senator Bill Richardson. Speraw ran far behind Flournoy is Los Angeles, where the senator should have polled a large vote. Former state Senator Bill Coombs of San Bernardino finished second, but he posed no threat to Flournoy.

Peace and Freedom candidate Florence McDonald, a Berkeley city councilwoman, should poll a substantial vote in November. She is the mother of singer Country Joe McDonald and is a popular figure in Bay Area liberal circles.

DEMOCRAT		
Ira Clark	406,691	(16%)
Kenneth Cory (Inc.)	**1,179,582**	**(84%)**
REPUBLICAN		
Larry Lee Bales	110,134	(6%)
Truman Campbell	172,474	(9%)
William E. Coombs	434,618	(23%)
James L. Flournoy	**689,613**	**(37%)**
Ollie Speraw	254,454	(14%)
James A. Ware	197,104	(11%)
AMERICAN INDEPENDENT		
Pat Graham	**16,886**	
PEACE AND FREEDOM		
Florence McDonald	**6,887**	
LIBERTARIAN		
Mary Gingell	**12,719**	

Treasurer

If state Treasurer Jesse Unruh could have named his Republican opponent, he probably would have selected the man he routed in 1978, Don French. The Republican voters did the job for him, nominating French over two other candidates who might have been more pesky for Unruh in November: Phil Kazanjian and Kent Lloyd.

French has good name identification because of his 1978 campaign and because of his support from conservative Republican volunteer organizations. Kazanjian made a ripple in his campaign with the charge that French's biography was riddled with white lies. Lloyd won the endorsement of some large newspapers, but French topped him even in the circulation areas of those papers.

DEMOCRAT		
Jesse M. Unruh (Inc.)	**2,271,318**	
REPUBLICAN		
Donald J. French	**702,577**	**(41%)**
Phil Kazanjian	460,306	(27%)
Kent Lloyd	323,013	(19%)
James Stieringer	219,402	(13%)
AMERICAN INDEPENDENT		
Robert G. Charlton	**15,418**	
PEACE AND FREEDOM		
Kevin Akin	**6,541**	
LIBERTARIAN		
Less Antman	**12,760**	

Attorney General

John Van de Kamp has marvelous name identification, but George Nicholson is the whiz-kid of this year's primary election. Based on the primary returns, GOP nominee Nicholson must be rated the favorite to replace Attorney General George Deukmejian next year.

It has been taken for granted for a year that Van de Kamp, district attorney of Los Angeles, would be the Democratic nominee — despite the candidacy of state Senator Omer Rains. The senator ran an aggressive campaign, but he couldn't come close to matching Van de Kamp's name identification in the state's pivotal media market. And Van de Kamp received some excellent publicity with his fight to keep Sirhan Sirhan behind bars — just at a crucial point in the campaign.

The very pollsters who hit the gubernatorial and Senate races on the head were far off on the Republican contest

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between Nicholson, a senior assistant attorney general, and Assemblyman Dave Stirling of Whittier. Normally, the southerner would have an advantage over a northerner. And Stirling was able to point to an audit questioning

DEMOCRAT		
Omer Rains	925,820	(37%)
John Van de Kamp	**1,556,592**	**(63%)**
REPUBLICAN		
George Nicholson	**1,248,209**	**(67%)**
Dave Stirling	606,417	(33%)
PEACE AND FREEDOM		
Dan Siegel	**6,645**	
LIBERTARIAN		
Bart Lee	**12,802**	

Nicholson's efficiency as head of the California District Attorneys' Association.

Why then did Nicholson wipe out Stirling by a margin of 2-1? There are several answers: Nicholson had an excellent ballot designation that made him look like a top aide to Deukmejian. He is known to insiders as a hard-liner on law-and-order issues. He is also a favorite with the political organization of state Senator H.L. (Bill) Richardson. In any event, Nicholson showed in June that he will probably be a match for Van de Kamp in November.

Superintendent of Public Instruction

As anticipated, three-term Superintendent of Public Instruction Wilson Riles faces a runoff in November. His opponent will be Bill Honig, a member of the state Board of Education and the superintendent of a small Marin County school district.

Honig will be a difficult opponent for Riles to beat. Honig has the capacity to raise gobs of money, as he did for the primary, and he occupies the center of the political spectrum. Riles probably would have been better off facing Richard Ferraro, who finished third in the race, because there would have been a sharp ideological difference between the two. Ferraro, a member of the Los Angeles board of education, is a conservative.

Riles will have strong support from the potent California Teachers Association, which will help him finance the cam-

(non-partisan)		
Janet L. Allen	273,901	(6%)
Jeanne Baird	153,464	(3%)
Richard E. Ferraro	556,056	(12%)
Bill Honig	**1,217,491**	**(25%)**
Myron Lieberman	116,077	(2%)
Georgia Marshall	211,103	(4%)
Daniel Nusbaum	106,566	(2%)
Gene Prat	246,270	(5%)
Wilson Riles (Inc.)	**1,974,188**	**(41%)**

paign. Honig thus far has depended to a great degree on funds provided by his family.

The big issue between Riles and Honig is apt to be money. Riles has consistently argued that more dollars are needed to improve the school system. Honig, who once agreed with Riles, now takes a more conservative view, that improvement can be accomplished with more discipline and emphasis on core subjects than by increasing public expenditures for teacher salaries and other school costs.

Honig emerged from the field as Riles' prime challenger by spending over $1 million in the primary. A great deal of the money was spent on television commercials. Riles ran especially well in San Francisco and a few small northern counties.

Propositions

Although conservative candidates didn't fare especially well in races for the top offices this year, California voters cast decidedly conservative ballots in deciding the fate of 12 ballot propositions. With one exception, the electorate rejected the recommendations of Governor Brown on the package of ballot measures.

The governor was for the Peripheral Canal, against reductions in taxes and for the legislative reapportionment

PROPOSITION 1 ($495 million prison bond issue)		
For	**2,870,914**	**(56%)**
Against	2,237,729	(44%)
PROPOSITION 2 (president of the state Senate)		
For	1,693,648	(36%)
Against	**2,978,834**	**(64%)**
PROPOSITION 3 (taxation of condemned property)		
For	**2,725,177**	**(56%)**
Against	2,108,912	(44%)
PROPOSITION 4 (denial of bail)		
For	**4,195,830**	**(83%)**
Against	870,907	(17%)
PROPOSITION 5 (inheritance and gift taxes)		
For	**3,146,704**	**(62%)**
Against	1,947,651	(36%)
PROPOSITION 6 (inheritance and gift taxes)		
For	**3,265,362**	**(64%)**
Against	1,805,533	(36%)
PROPOSITION 7 (income-tax indexing)		
For	**3,128,457**	**(63%)**
Against	1,802,922	(37%)
PROPOSITION 8 (criminal justice omnibus proposal)		
For	**2,770,225**	**(56%)**
Against	2,144,284	(44%)
PROPOSITION 9 (Peripheral Canal)		
For	2,013,475	(37%)
Against	**3,375,513**	**(63%)**
PROPOSITION 10 (Congressional redistricting)		
For	1,733,428	(35%)
Against	**3,163,023**	**(65%)**
PROPOSITION 11 (Senate redistricting)		
For	1,850,434	(38%)
Against	**3,041,373**	**(62%)**
PROPOSITION 12 (Assembly redistricting)		
For	1,856,101	(38%)
Against	**3,031,645**	**(62%)**

measures. The voters went against his wishes in all three areas. But they did go along with his proposal for a $495 million bond issue for new prison facilities.

Opponents of the Peripheral Canal won a smashing victory by capturing about 90 percent of the vote in Northern California and winning a large enough share of the vote in the south to beat the plan by more than 1.2 million votes. The Republicans succeeded in killing the Democratic reapportionment plans by about the same margin. New lines must be drawn for the 1984 elections.

The so-called Victims' Bill of Rights was approved by a substantial margin even though voters were warned that the Supreme Court may well strike it down as unconstitutional. The legal battle over Proposition 8 could well escalate into a major issue in November. Measures to eliminate the state inheritance tax and to require full cost-of-living indexing of the state income tax passed by large margins, even though these actions will intensify the state's budget crunch by some $360 million.

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House of Representatives

When Phil Burton reapportions, he leaves little to chance. The plan drafted by the San Francisco congressman for the state's 45 congressional districts left only a few opportunities for contests in November. Most of the districts belong to one party or another.

Burton's plan created a strange situation. It tempted liberal Republican state Senator Milton Marks to run against Burton, and the race is rated a tossup even though the turf is heavily Democratic. Several other Democratic incumbents have been put on the GOP hit list. But aside from Burton, the incumbent in the most trouble is a Republican, veteran Don Clausen of the north coast.

Even some Republicans are predicting that after the dust settles the Democrats will hold 27 or 28 of the congressional seats.

In the most interesting primary battle, Assemblyman Marty Martinez won a special election and a regular election for the seat vacated by Democrat George Danielson. Martinez is expected to win a special-election runoff easily, and then he is favored to beat Republican veteran John Rousselot in November. Martinez was involved in a tight race against Dennis Kazarian, former aide to Danielson.

DISTRICT 1 (51%D-33%R)

Bosco (D)	**28,781**	**(76%)**
Koepf (D)	8.947	(24%)
C'sen (Inc.-R)	**53,135**	
Redick (L)	**457**	

Veteran Republican Don Clausen is in deep trouble. The Democrats appear to have the ideal challenger in young Assemblyman Doug Bosco. DOUBTFUL.

DISTRICT 2 (50%D-38%R)

Carrico (D)	27,000	(40%)
Newmeyer (D)	**41,029**	**(60%)**
C'pie (Inc.-R)	**58,583**	
Fegarsky (P)	**189**	

Republican Gene Chappie is a strong campaigner who knows how to keep farmers happy. SAFE REPUBLICAN.

DISTRICT 3 (57%D-32%R)

Matsui (Inc.-D)	**70,918**	
Reiger (P)	**192**	
Daniel (L)	**284**	

This year, Bob Matsui of Sacramento can afford to spend his time helping his Democratic colegues in some of the rough races in the capital area. SAFE DEMOCRATIC.

DISTRICT 4 (56%D-30%R)

Fazio (Inc.-D)	**60,854**	
Canfield (R)	**19,867**	**(52%)**
Clancey (R)	11,246	(30%)
Stevenson (R)	7,021	(18%)

Redistricting probably hurt Democrat Vic Fazio a touch, but he is a strong campaigner who takes little for granted. He should win re-election, even if the Republicans send big money into the district behind Roger Canfield, who has earned his living toiling in the political vineyards in Sacramento. LEANS DEMOCRATIC.

DISTRICT 5 (61%D-23%R)

B'ton (Inc.-D)	**56,808**	
Marks (R)	**25,966**	**(88%)**
Spinosa (R)	3,610	(12%)
Raimondo (L)	**212**	

This will be the biggest battle of the year in California, with veteran state Senator Milton Marks carrying the GOP banner against the giant of the congressional delegation, Phil Burton. The GOP high command enlisted liberal Marks in an effort to slay Burton in retaliation for the congressman's partisan redistricting of the state's congressional districts. Marks has always been popular with Democrats, but the connection with President Reagan could hurt him. Money will flow into the district from throughout the nation. DOUBTFUL.

DISTRICT 6 (58%D-26%R)

Boxer (D)	**39,340**	**(50%)**
Day (D)	1,033	(1%)
Intintoli (D)	7,270	(9%)
Mountanos (D)	6,314	(8%)
Renne (D)	24,611	(31%)
McQuaid (R)	**36,813**	
Albertson (P)	**308**	
Creighton (L)	**538**	

This district was made to order for Congressman John Burton, who then decided not to seek re-election. Republican Dennis McQuaid, who made Burton work hard two years ago, is going to give it the old college try, but the district has a definite Democratic tinge. Supervisor Barbara Boxer of Marin County won a rugged primary struggle with surprising ease to become the Democratic nominee, and she has the advantage in November. LEANS DEMOCRATIC.

DISTRICT 7 (57%D-31%R)

Miller (Inc.-D)	**73,052**	
La Manna (R)	3,915	(9%)
Last (R)	8,106	(18%)
Prince (R)	4,831	(11%)
St. Clair (R)	11,901	(26%)
Vallely (R)	**16,727**	**(37%)**
Wells (A)	**587**	
Newell (L)	**321**	

This should be an especially good year for Democrat George Miller, who has been prominent in the state's water battles. With the Peripheral Canal controversy on the minds of the voters in Miller's district, he should win by a large margin. Republicans are developing Paul Vallely, a West Point graduate, for a future campaign. SAFE DEMOCRATIC.

DISTRICT 8 (60%D-26%R)

D'lums (Inc.-D)	**64,915**	**(76%)**
Vamis (D)	20,965	(24%)
Chandler (R)	1,565	(3%)
Hughes (R)	4,581	(9%)
Hutchison (R)	**27,215**	**(56%)**
Lindblad (R)	2,291	(5%)
Sorensen (R)	12,987	(27%)

Despite the large field in the Republican primary, veteran Democrat Ronald Dellums has an even safer district this year, thanks to reapportionment. The father of GOP nominee Claude Hutchison was once mayor of Berkeley. SAFE DEMOCRATIC.

DISTRICT 9 (60%D-28%R)

O'Donnell (D)	13,989	(22%)
Stark (Inc.-D)	**51,018**	**(78%)**
Kennedy (R)	**34,629**	

Two years ago, Bill Kennedy of Pleasanton came surprisingly close to liberal Democrat Pete Stark. Kennedy never stopped running. But Stark is paying more attention to his campaign this year and hopes to win by a substantial margin. Adverse economic conditions in southern Alameda County may help Stark. LEANS DEMOCRATIC.

DISTRICT 10 (60%D-25%R)

Ed'ards (Inc.-D)	**30,173**	
Herriott (R)	**12,483**	**(57%)**
Jarrett (R)	9,258	(43%)
Kaiser (A)	**371**	
Burrow (L)	**231**	

The Republicans think they have an attractive candidate in airline pilot Bob Herriott. But they know that the combination of Don Edwards' appeal and a strong Democratic registration make Herriott a sacrificial lamb. SAFE DEMOCRATIC.

DISTRICT 11 (54%D-33%R)

Lantos (Inc.-D)	**58,373**	
Royer (R)	**41,897**	
Kudrovzeff (A)	**382**	
Branch (P)	**170**	
Olson (L)	**465**	

Two years ago, Democrat Tom Lantos unseated Bill Royer, who had won the seat in a special election following the death of Democrat Leo Ryan. Now, Royer is trying to win the seat back. This is one of the truly marginal districts constructed in the Burton reapportionment plan. Lantos is an aggressive campaigner and will not be defeated easily. DOUBTFUL.

DISTRICT 12 (44%D-43%R)

Lynch (D)	**22,236**	**(53%)**
Raffel (D)	19,686	(47%)
Zschau (R)	**45,511**	
White (L)	**428**	

Businessman Ed Zschau probably deserves an award as politician of the year. He moved into the vacuum created by the decision of Congressman Pete McCloskey to run for the U.S. Senate and eliminated all GOP competition before the primary even started. The Democratic primary was irrelevant in this district. SAFE REPUBLICAN.

DISTRICT 13 (52%D-34%R)

Mineta (Inc.-D)	**38,616**	
Kelly (R)	**26,895**	
Hinkle (L)	**418**	

Former San Jose mayor Norm Mineta is normally stronger than his party. Republican Tom Kelly may give Mineta a tussle this year, but the attempt is virtually futile. SAFE DEMOCRATIC.

DISTRICT 14 (50%D-39%R)

Colburn (D)	15,355	(12%)
Loree (D)	6,504	(9%)
Reed (D)	**22,607**	**(31%)**
Sanborn (D)	20,114	(27%)
Steele (D)	9,080	(12%)
S'way (Inc.-R)	**62,790**	

Republican Norman Shumway of Stockton is as straight-laced as they come, and he may have some trouble dealing with the good ol' boys in the foothills. But the district should be good for him this year, barring a Democratic wave against the Reagan economic policies. Democrat Baron Reed is the former mayor of Roseville. LEANS REPUBLICAN.

GUIDE TO TABLES

The election results used in this analysis are from the semi-official canvass conducted by the secretary of state's office. The numbers after each district are the registration percentages for the primary election. Names printed in **bold** characters are the winners.

Abbreviations: Inc. for Incumbent, D for Democrat, R for Republican, L for Libertarian, A for American Independent Party, P for Peace and Freedom Party.

Note: In some districts where there were no candidates for a party nomination listed on the June ballot, individuals may have qualified for the November election via the write-in process.

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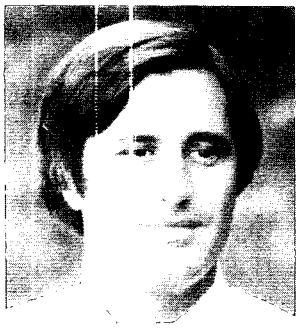

BOSCO

DISTRICT 15 (58%D-33%R)

C'lho (Inc.-D)	**44,926**	
Bates (R)	**27,365**	
Gerringer (L)	**88**	

Tony Coelho would have been considered a shoo-in for re-election if he hadn't written a letter on behalf of a friend seeking leniency in a criminal case. Retired Sheriff Ed Bates of Madera County is trying to take advantage of that letter, and he will get plenty of GOP support. Coelho makes a dandy Republican target because he heads the Democratic congressional campaign committee. Coelho is a political pro who rates as the favorite. DOUBTFUL.

DISTRICT 16 (50%D-34%R)

P'tta (Inc.-D)	**60,603**	
Arnold (R)	**24,588**	**(56%)**
Ball (R)	19,641	(44%)

Leon Panetta is probably the model of a successful congressman. His district is marginal but he wins re-election by a wide margin. He is a top hand in budget negotiations in Washington, yet returns home every weekend to help his top district aide — wife Sylvia — run the store. SAFE DEMOCRATIC.

DISTRICT 17 (54%D-37%R)

Tackett (D)	**38,439**	
P'yan (Inc.-R)	**35,549**	

There is a lingering suspicion in political circles that Chip Pashayan of Fresno can be taken some year. Supervisor Gene Tackett of Bakersfield will give it a go, but can he make inroads in Tulare County, which swings the district? Pashayan won easily two years ago. DOUBTFUL.

DISTRICT 18 (61%D-29%R)

Lehman (D)	**53,989**	
Fondse (R)	**29,463**	
Fritz (L)	**195**	

This is a new district, created by the Legislature expressly for Assemblyman Rick Lehman. He should win it, but he has a well-known opponent in Adrian Fondse, a former county supervisor who lost an Assembly seat two years ago in a recount. LEANS DEMOCRATIC.

CLAUSEN

DISTRICT 19 (49%D-37%R)

Frost (D)	**43,270**	
L'sino (Inc.-R)	**50,924**	
Zekan (P)	**153**	
G'don-Mc'chan (L)	**265**	

Republican Bob Lagomarsino wins every two years almost by acclamation despite liberal Democratic attempts to muster opposition against him. Former Santa Barbara County Supervisor Frank Frost is the liberal hope this year. SAFE REPUBLICAN.

DISTRICT 20 (47%D-42%R)

Bethea (D)	**45,466**	
T'mas (Inc.-R)	**54,633**	

Republican Bill Thomas appears well entrenched. SAFE REPUBLICAN.

DISTRICT 21 (43%D-46%R)

Cochran (D)	15,105	(34%)
Margolis (D)	**16,335**	**(37%)**
Webb (D)	12,806	(29%)
Cruse (R)	9,257	(14%)
Fiedler (Inc.-R)	**58,153**	**(86%)**
Wiener (L)	**272**	

As the results indicate, first-termer Bobbi Fiedler wasn't hurt by the shift of her district to territory largely represented in the past by Barry Goldwater Jr. SAFE REPUBLICAN.

DISTRICT 22 (37%D-54%R)

G'hammer (D)	**38,265**	
M'head (Inc.-R)	**80,067**	
Gerringer (L)	**270**	

Incumbent Carlos Moorhead is as bland as mashed potatoes, but his only problem this year was the possibility that fellow Republican John Rousselot would run against him. Moorhead chose to remain in Congress even though he could have had a lifetime job as a federal judge. SAFE REPUBLICAN.

DISTRICT 23 (57%D-33%R)

B'son (Inc.-D)	**70,175**	
Armor (R)	**19,272**	**(44%)**
Fox (R)	5,121	(12%)
Greene (R)	12,337	(28%)
Winckler (R)	7,067	(16%)

Tony Beilenson, who is definitely not a member of the Waxman-Berman organization, lost some potency by being moved farther into the San Fernando Valley. He will have to work hard and spend more time in the district to survive

MARKS

the expected GOP onslaught. The Republican candidate, Dave Armor, was once an ultra-liberal student body president at UC-Berkeley. He has moved to the far right and wants to talk busing. LEANS DEMOCRATIC.

DISTRICT 24 (58%D-29%R)

W'man (Inc.-D)	**49,246**	
Cameron (R)	3,835	(14%)
Cayard (R)	3,733	(14%)
Medvid (R)	5,223	(19%)
Zerg (R)	**14,671**	**(53%)**
Mandel (L)	**344**	

Henry Waxman has become a power in Congress, and the major question this year is how many of his pals will join him in Washington as a result of the November election. SAFE DEMOCRATIC.

DISTRICT 25 (70%D-20%R)

R'bal (Inc.-D)	**39,301**	
Gorham (L)	**102**	

As usual, Ed Roybal can coast to victory. SAFE DEMOCRATIC.

DISTRICT 26 (59%D-31%R)

Berman (D)	**51,031**	**(83%)**
Gorelick (D)	10,297	(17%)
Felsher (R)	5,102	(15%)
Phillips (R)	**29,903**	**(85%)**

The GOP may try hard to prevent Howard Berman from winning this seat, but Republican money will be better spent elsewhere. Nobody plays the political game on Los Angeles' west side better than the Waxman-Berman organization. GOP candidate Hal Phillips apparently has the ability to keep Berman occupied. SAFE DEMOCRATIC.

DISTRICT 27 (56%D-31%R)

Levine (D)	**58,666**	
C'sen (R)	**18,501**	**(50%)**
Ryan (R)	18,328	(50%)
Richardson (L)	**386**	

Assemblyman Mel Levine is armed with a huge bankroll, which he probably won't have to spend on his own behalf. This is a new district carved in part out of the area now represented by Republican Bob Dornan. SAFE DEMOCRATIC.

DISTRICT 28 (75%D-17%R)

Dixon (Inc.-D)	**58,937**	
Goerz (R)	**12,174**	
Meleney (L)	**100**	

BURTON

Only Democrats need apply in Julian Dixon's district. SAFE DEMOCRATIC.

DISTRICT 29 (80%D-15%R)

H'kins (Inc.-D)	**56,136**	
Mackaig (R)	**8,885**	

The ego of Councilman Mackaig of Downey will get a huge bruising in November. At 74, Gus Hawkins is still plenty formidable at the ballot box. SAFE DEMOCRATIC.

DISTRICT 30 (63%D-28%R)

Kazarian (D)	16,997	(34%)
Martinez (D)	**17,422**	**(35%)**
Moreno (D)	8,786	(18%)
Ochi (D)	6,851	(14%)
Rousselot (R)	**23,062**	

If John Rousselot weren't a powerful Republican of long standing, this race would be considered a cinch for Democrat Marty Martinez. But Rousselot will have the bucks and the experience to make the race interesting, even though the district is heavily Democratic by tradition. Assemblyman Martinez is backed by the Waxman-Berman organization. The seat was abandoned by Democrat George Danielson, who was given an appellate judgeship. By November, Martinez should be the incumbent as the result of a run-off election. He was the leading Democrat in the June special election on the same ballot as the regular primary competition. LEANS DEMOCRATIC.

DISTRICT 31 (73%D-18%R)

D'ally (Inc.-D)	**43,155**	**(77%)**
Mitchell (D)	7,090	(13%)
O'Brien (D)	5,574	(10%)
Minturn (R)	**12,482**	

The primary in this district is the whole ballgame for former Lieutenant Governor Mervyn Dymally, now of Compton. SAFE DEMOCRATIC.

DISTRICT 32 (60%D-30%R)

A'son (Inc.-D)	**42,423**	**(77%)**
Hallowell (D)	4,280	(8%)
Tuttle (D)	8,701	(16%)
Adler (R)	8,070	(25%)
Lungren (R)	**23,575**	**(75%)**
Ruyle (P)	**128**	

The Republicans think they can beat former Lieutenant Governor

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LEHMAN

Glenn Anderson, but Anderson showed surprising strength in beating primary challenger Edd Tuttle, a Long Beach city council member. The GOP candidate is Brian Lungren, brother of Republican Congressman Dan Lungren. And the Lungren name sells well in this area. The district is heavily Democratic, but party loyalty is suspect in the harbor area. LEANS DEMOCRATIC.

DISTRICT 33 (46%D-45%R)

Servelle (D)	**29,358**	**(67%)**
Spencer (D)	14,475	(33%)
Dreier (Inc.-R)	**34,481**	**(57%)**
G'ham (Inc.-R)	25,682	(43%)
Noonan (P)	**83**	
Franklin (L)	**158**	

Young Congressman David Dreier emerged as a clear winner over fellow Republican Congressman Wayne Grisham and should be able to rest on his

FONDSE

laurels for a while. They were thrust into the same district as a result of reapportionment and a decision by Congressman Jerry Lewis to run in the 35th district. SAFE REPUBLICAN.

DISTRICT 34 (65%D-26%R)

Anderson (D)	6,753	(13%)
Lloyd (D)	19,335	(37%)
Torres (D)	**26,924**	**(51%)**
Jackson (R)	**12,072**	**(55%)**
Wong (R)	9,919	(45%)

This is a new, heavily Democratic district with a large Hispanic population. Former Congressman Jim Lloyd was expected to make a comeback, but he couldn't cope with the potent campaign mustered on behalf of Esteban Torres, once of the Carter White House, by the Waxman-Berman gang. Torres was not hurt by adverse publicity about the East Los Angeles organization (TELACU) he

MARTINEZ

once headed. The November election is meaningless. SAFE DEMOCRATIC.

DISTRICT 35 (44%D-44%R)

Erwin (D)	**23,585**	**(58%)**
Hall (D)	16,844	(42%)
Lewis (Inc.-R)	**46,081**	

Incumbent Jerry Lewis staked out the new 35th district as his own, and no one of consequence chose to challenge him. SAFE REPUBLICAN.

DISTRICT 36 (58%D-30%R)

Brown (Inc.-D)	**37,484**	**(74%)**
Hibble (D)	5,724	(11%)
Pineda (D)	7,350	(14%)
Darling (R)	9,677	(31%)
Stark (R)	**14,227**	**(46%)**
Vallen (R)	6,965	(23%)

The Republicans are plotting an upset of veteran George Brown, 62. Brown lost some of his usual victory margin two years ago, but he was aided by redistricting. LEANS DEMOCRATIC.

DISTRICT 37 (47%D-42%R)

Cost (D)	4,221	(8%)
Cross (D)	**14,172**	**(27%)**
Davis (D)	7,847	(15%)
Pearson (D)	4,511	(9%)
Peters (D)	4,518	(9%)
Skinner (D)	7,829	(15%)
Stull (D)	5,715	(11%)
Toenjes (D)	2,539	(5%)
Calvert (R)	14,321	(24%)
Castro (R)	829	(1%)
Davis (R)	8,732	(15%)
Horspool (R)	11,238	(19%)
Mansfield (R)	1,369	(2%)
Mathewson (R)	1,064	(2%)
Mc'less (R)	**15,139**	**(25%)**
Rocha (R)	2,545	(4%)
Wiley (R)	4,577	(8%)
Wruble (L)	**190**	

Veteran Riverside County Supervisor Al McCandless of Palm Desert might have been expected to run away with this open seat. But businessman Ken Calvert of Corona almost licked him in the GOP primary. And the Democrats nominated a tough customer in Curtis (Sam) Cross, the police chief of Indio. The district is designed for a Republican victory, but Cross could pull an upset. Another law-enforcement Democrat, state Senator Bob Presley, has been able to win

ROUSSELOT

elections in Riverside County. McCandless is a long-time Reagan supporter. DOUBTFUL.

DISTRICT 38 (52%D-35%R)

P'son (Inc.-D)	**35,368**	
Connley (R)	4,710	(15%)
Dohr (R)	**17,533**	**(55%)**
Jacobson (R)	9,379	(30%)
Barr (L)	**324**	

Democrat Jerry Patterson of Garden Grove runs ahead of his party. The Republicans think this may be the year they can beat him, and they may roll the big money machine into Orange County behind businessman Bill Dohr of Santa Ana. DOUBTFUL.

DISTRICT 39 (40%D-49%R)

Feldman (D)	10,899	(31%)
Verges (D)	**24,143**	**(69%)**
D'yer (Inc.-R)	**56,096**	
Boeheim (P)	**96**	

If the Democrats could have found a way to cut up Orange County so that Bill Dannemeyer would be left out in the cold, they would have done it. But they were forced to leave the outspoken former Democrat with a safe constituency. SAFE REPUBLICAN.

DISTRICT 40 (35%D-52%R)

Haseman (D)	**30,022**
B'ham (Inc.-R)	**71,365**
Quirk (P)	**82**

Bob Badham has found a home in Congress. SAFE REPUBLICAN.

DISTRICT 41 (41%D-42%R)

B'burg (D)	**35,342**
L'ery (Inc.-R)	**60,915**
Hale (L)	**328**

Bill Lowery had to fight hard two years ago to win his seat. Now he has a safe district and can take it easy for a while. SAFE REPUBLICAN.

DISTRICT 42 (43%D-46%R)

Spellman (D)	**30,692**	**(64%)**
Vazzana (D)	17,095	(36%)
H'mer (R)	13,466	(19%)
L'ren (Inc.-R)	**58,623**	**(81%)**
Donohue (P)	**109**	

Republican Dan Lungren of Long Beach survived a primary challenge from councilman Tom Heinsheimer of Rolling Hills without much trouble. The general election will be easier. SAFE REPUBLICAN.

30th Congressional district Special election

Assemblyman Marty Martinez is the heavy favorite to win a special election this month to succeed Democrat George Danielson in the House of Representatives. Martinez finished ahead of three other Democrats in a special election held in conjunction with the state primary on June 8th. Martinez, a freshman assemblyman, also is the Democratic nominee for the full two-year term in the 30th Congressional District. He will face Republican Congressman John Rousselot in November.

The special election vote:

Marty Martinez (D)	**22,411**
Dennis Kazarian (D)	20,161
Rose Ochi (D)	9,289
Oswaldo Romero (D)	6,371
Ross Ramirez (R)	**10,912**

Since no candidate received a majority of the vote, Martinez and Republican Ross Ramirez will be the candidates in a runoff election. Rousselot did not enter the special election, called by Governor Brown following the appointment of Danielson to the appellate court. The district is heavily Democratic, giving Martinez a huge advantage over Ramirez. In November, only a magnificent campaign by Rousselot will enable him to defeat Martinez, especially since Martinez will have incumbent status and the district is heavily Hispanic.

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DISTRICT 43 (34%D-52%R)

Archer (D)	**15,380**	**(46%)**
Mora (D)	11,158	(33%)
Powell (D)	7,194	(21%)
Anfinson (R)	551	(1%)
Crean (R)	**13,688**	**(17%)**
Curtis (R)	1,086	(1%)
Davis (R)	786	(1%)
De Carlo (R)	383	
Kenney (R)	2,951	(4%)
Kinkade (R)	501	(1%)
Legro (R)	3,891	(5%)
Martinson (R)	832	(1%)
Mauro (R)	2,241	(3%)
McColl (R)	12,839	(16%)
Packard (R)	13,595	(17%)
Rady (R)	8,616	(11%)
Sanders (R)	668	(1%)
Schaefer (R)	1,625	(2%)
Schmitz (R)	4,187	(95%)
Shaw (R)	1,171	(1%)
Szekely (R)	12,076	(15%)

This San Diego-Orange district, abandoned by Republican Clair Burgener, provided some of the biggest sparks in the primary with a large and big-spending GOP field. Travel-trailer manufacturer Johnnie Crean apparently defeated Mayor Ron Packard of Carlsbad by spending more than $500,000 of his own money. The regular GOP is rebelling against Crean, and there's no telling who might launch a write-in campaign against Crean and Democrat Pat Archer. The district is heavily Republican, but a Democrat once won an Assembly seat under similar circumstances. Burgener himself has been urged to run a write-in campaign, as has Packard. One surprise was the relatively poor showing of Jim Rady, an Escondido councilman who carried the Burgener seal of approval. LEANS REPUBLICAN.

DISTRICT 44 (58%D-27%R)

Aguirre (D)	12,440	(28%)
Bates (D)	**31,737**	**(72%)**
G'ner (R)	**15,095**	
Conole (L)	**170**	

San Diego County Supervisor Jim Bates survived a rough primary with a solid victory. He should romp in November over Shirley Gissendanner, a black former aide to Congressman Duncan Hunter. Former football hero Mike Garrett failed to beat her by write-in. SAFE DEMOCRATIC.

DISTRICT 45 (44%D-41%R)

Brown (D)	18,701	(45%)
Hill (D)	**22,690**	**(55%)**
Hunter (Inc.-R)	**52,697**	
Sanders (L)	**259**	

Congressman Duncan Hunter pulled a major upset two years ago. Now he has a safe Republican district as his reward. SAFE REPUBLICAN.

State Senate

The 23-17 Democratic majority in the state Senate probably will not be endangered in the November election, thanks in part to the redistricting plan drawn by the Democrats. Of the 20 Senate seats that are not being contested this year, the Republicans hold 11 and the Democrats 9. For the GOP, the problem is that there are relatively few opportunities among the 20 seats to be filled in November.

The Republicans have only three safe seats. Democrats are favored to win 12, and there are five that are in the doubtful category. Even if the Republicans should win all five of these, the Democrats would still hold a slim majority. The most likely outcome is for the Democrats to win 14 or 15 seats to retain the present 23-17 advantage, or perhaps to improve it by one seat.

The hottest race of the primary was in the 24th district, where money flowed like tequila. Senate Democratic leader David Roberti and farm labor leader Cesar Chavez poured barrels of money into the contest in an effort to keep Assemblyman Art Torres from unseating Alex Garcia. Torres refused to use Garcia's drinking habits as an issue, but the Garcia forces tried every conceivable dirty trick in an effort to turn voters against the able and articulate Torres. Assembly Speaker Willie Brown backed Torres, who won the bitter fight.

DISTRICT 2 (55%D-30%R)

Keene (Inc.-D)	**73,973**	
Maher (R)	**33,745**	**(77%)**
Sampson (R)	10,236	(23%)
Garth (L)	**422**	

Democrat Barry Keene picked up some new territory through redistricting, but he's a polished operator who knows how to keep diverse interests happy. The Republicans may send some money after him behind Bill Maher of Vacaville. LEANS DEMOCRATIC.

DISTRICT 4 (52%D-36%R)

Zeff (D)	**70,840**
Nielsen (Inc.-R)	**64,275**
Burnside (L)	**458**

The registration statistics are deceptive. Nielsen now has more of a rural constituency, and he will be difficult to dislodge. SAFE REPUBLICAN.

DISTRICT 6 (58%D-30%R)

Britto (D)	9,604	(10%)
Greene (D)	**76,114**	**(76%)**
Newman (D)	14,383	(14%)
D'little (Inc.-R)	**49,467**	
Sawyer (P)	**177**	

This will be one of the hottest races of the year, pitting conservative Republican John Doolittle against senior Democratic Assemblyman Leroy Greene in a district designed for a Democrat. Doolittle pulled a surprise two years ago by defeating veteran Senator Al Rodda. The seats were numbered in reapportionment so that Doolittle had to run in this new Democratic district this time or be out of office in 1984. Greene should be a slight favorite. DOUBTFUL.

DISTRICT 8 (63%D-24%R)

Foran (Inc.-D)	**60,338**
Guth (R)	**21,784**
Mayakis (L)	**219**

Veteran John F. Foran has lived a charmed political life. He has survived the shrinkage of San Francisco's delegation repeatedly, and now he appears stronger than ever. SAFE DEMOCRATIC.

DISTRICT 10 (58%D-29%R)

Lockyer (D)	**56,617**	**(77%)**
Sweeney (D)	16,911	(23%)
Marguth (R)	**38,864**	

Assemblyman Gib Marguth saw his district disappear in reapportionment, so he's taking a shot at the Senate seat being abandoned by John Holmdahl, who was given a judgeship. But Marguth faces an uphill battle against Democratic Assemblyman Bill Lockyer, a strong candidate in a Democratic area. The Republicans will put plenty of money on Marguth. LEANS DEMOCRATIC.

DISTRICT 12 (54%D-33%R)

Heggem (D)	14,621	(32%)
McC'dale (D)	**31,504**	**(68%)**
O'Keefe (Inc.-R)	**33,556**	
Wilson (L)	**279**	

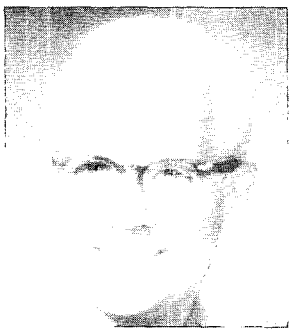
Both parties will roll out the heavy machinery in an effort to win this marginal seat. Senator Dan O'Keefe moved to run in this district, and he has the advantage of quasi-incumbency. But he drew a tough opponent in Supervisor Dan McCorquodale of Santa Clara County. The outcome probably will be determined by the vote in the Stanislaus County portion of this strange district. DOUBTFUL.

DISTRICT 14 (54%D-36%R)

Maddy (Inc.-R)	**30,598**

This huge district, which runs from the Sierra Nevada to the sea, was made to order for Republican Caucus Chairman Ken Maddy. SAFE REPUBLICAN.

DOOLITTLE



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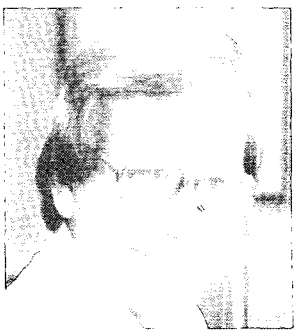

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DISTRICT 16 (56%D-34%R)

Stiern (Inc.-D)	**54,272**	
Gutcher (R)	**26,918**	**(60%)**
Henry (R)	18,282	(40%)

The Republicans have tried repeatedly to get rid of Democrat Walter Stiern of Bakersfield with little success. Stiern is far more popular than his party in Kern County, and his new district has some loyal Democratic precincts in Pasadena added. The Republicans will make an all-out effort to beat him behind Bakersfield businesswoman Ann Gutcher, but the 68-year-old Stiern will be tough. LEANS DEMOCRATIC.

DISTRICT 18 (49%D-37%R)

Hart (D)	**55,933**	
Barrows (R)	8,924	(15%)
Imbrecht (R)	**48,968**	**(85%)**
Driscoll (L)	**300**	

Democratic Assemblyman Gary Hart of Santa Barbara and Republican Assemblyman Charles Imbrecht of Ventura are locked in a battle of legislative titans. The race should be a cliff-hanger all the way. The better campaigner will win. DOUBTFUL.

DISTRICT 20 (59%D-30%R)

August (D)	7,746	(12%)
Leventhal (D)	14,481	(23%)
R'bins (Inc.-D)	**40,932**	**(65%)**
Herzog (R)	11,092	(31%)
Michael (R)	**16,923**	**(48%)**
O'Brien (R)	7,531	(21%)
Hill (P)	**147**	
P'bury-Foster (L)	**256**	

How badly damaged was Democrat Alan Robbins by his highly publicized trial, in which he was found innocent of sex charges? Skip Michael, a Los Angeles police detective, will put Robbins to the test, and Michael will have plenty of support from his party. Nevertheless, Robbins won his primary handily and his district is Democratic. LEANS DEMOCRATIC.

DISTRICT 22 (59%D-30%R)

Kurdi (D)	11,425	(13%)
Rosenthal (D)	**79,754**	**(87%)**
Robinson (R)	**39,099**	
Kaskus (L)	**401**	

Incumbent Alan Sieroty announced his retirement, and Assemblyman Herschel Rosenthal locked up the seat within a matter of hours. SAFE DEMOCRATIC.

DISTRICT 24 (69%D-21%R)

Garcia (Inc.-D)	19,660	(46%)
Torres (D)	**22,848**	**(54%)**
Marsh (R)	**11,280**	
Malmberg (L)	**116**	

There was never any question that the seat would be won by the survivor in the bitter primary battle between incumbent Alex Garcia and Assemblyman Art Torres. Only dirty tricks by the Garcia camp made the primary close. SAFE DEMOCRATIC.

DISTRICT 26 (65%D-26%R)

M'toya (Inc.-D)	**51,937**
Chow (R)	**21,892**

School board member Eleanor Chow will make Democrat Joe Montoya go through the motions of a campaign. SAFE DEMOCRATIC.

DISTRICT 28 (73%D-18%R)

Watson (Inc.-D)	**75,390**
Wright (R)	**17,861**

Republicans are hoping that Oscar Wright can make enough noise to keep Diane Edith Watson at home. She would rather spend her time helping other Democrats. SAFE DEMOCRATIC.

DISTRICT 30 (68%D-22%R)

Carson (D)	13,840	(26%)
Dills (Inc.-D)	**38,885**	**(76%)**
McMurray (R)	**17,592**	
Tomlinson (P)	**108**	

Veteran Ralph Dills is 72, but he shows no signs of retiring. SAFE DEMOCRATIC.

DISTRICT 32 (51%D-36%R)

Barbaro (D)	**12,093**	**(29%)**
Buchoz (D)	11,705	(28%)
Serrato (D)	9,350	(23%)
Slade (D)	3,813	(9%)
Williams (D)	4,519	(10%)
Bricken (R)	10,484	(30%)
Royce (R)	**15,290**	**(43%)**
Silva (R)	1,845	(5%)
Wiles (R)	7,595	(22%)

Both primaries were wide-open affairs in this new Orange County district that can be captured by either party. Attorney Frank Barbaro of Garden Grove, long a party workhorse, won a narrow victory over Mayor Kathy Buchoz of Westminster to win the Democratic nomination, and businessman Ed Royce of Anaheim took the GOP primary by a more comfortable margin. Both candidates should get plenty of support for the runoff in November. Councilman Al Serrato of Santa Ana, who had support from the Senate leadership, was expected to run a far stronger race. DOUBTFUL.

DISTRICT 34 (57%D-31%R)

Ayala (Inc.-D)	**45,996**
Kurtz (R)	**28,246**

The Republicans will concede the seat to Ruben Ayala, author of the Peripheral Canal bill, this time around. SAFE DEMOCRATIC.

DISTRICT 36 (50%D-38%R)

Presley (Inc.-D)	**38,021**

This should be a two-party district, but incumbent Bob Presley is a moderate who appeals to Republicans. He's a former undersheriff of Riverside County. SAFE DEMOCRATIC.

DISTRICT 38 (38%D-46%R)

Kripke (D)	**41,111**
Craven (Inc.-R)	**72,484**
Rider (L)	**410**

As usual, Republican Bill Craven can win an election just by putting his name on the ballot. SAFE REPUBLICAN.

DISTRICT 40 (56%D-29%R)

Bodle (D)	9,689	(20%)
Deddeh (D)	**38,097**	**(80%)**
Watson (R)	**22,122**	

This seat is being vacated by the retirement of former Senate chief Jim Mills. The race was over as soon as Assemblyman Wadie P. Deddeh announced that he would run for the seat. SAFE DEMOCRATIC.

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The biggest bargain of any publication dealing with California government is now available — the 1982 edition of the **California Journal Roster and Government Guide.** This 16-page booklet is not only inexpensive but it is also the most valuable reference work on the market for anyone even on the fringes of the state government game.

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Assembly

Privately, Republican strategists will concede that the GOP did not come up with a heavyweight slate of candidates to pose a real challenge to the Democratic control of the Assembly. The Democrats now hold a 49-31 advantage in the house. The outlook is for the GOP to chip away at that lead in November — but not by much.

The primary produced few major surprises. Only one incumbent, Republican Marilyn Ryan of Palos Verdes, was defeated. And she was locked in an intra-party squabble with fellow Republican incumbent Gerald Felando, who tried to paint Ryan as a Democrat with a deceptive Republican label.

The most publicized race of the year was in the Santa Monica area, where Tom Hayden won the Democratic primary over Steve Saltzman. The Republicans will now attempt to defeat Hayden, even though the GOP candidate is a neophyte and the district is Democratic.

Ryan's defeat was a blow to feminist organizations, but there are still opportunities for enlarging the current 10-woman contingent in the Assembly.

DISTRICT 1 (53%D-37%R)

Drake (D)	**38,404**	
St'am (Inc.-R)	**34,964**	
Misso (P)	**99**	

Supervisor Paul Drake of Lassen County will go through the motions of a campaign, but incumbent Stan Statham is tough despite the registration statistics. Rumors are flying that Statham will run for the state Senate in 1984 whether or not veteran Republican Ray Johnson retires. SAFE REPUBLICAN.

DISTRICT 2 (53%D-31%R)

Hauser (D)	**24,553**	**(53%)**
Keene (D)	21,504	(47%)
Bass (R)	8,700	(30%)
Homan (R)	9,893	(34%)
Partain (P)	**10,775**	**(37%)**
Gould (L)	284	

Democrat Doug Bosco left this district up for grabs by running for Congress. The primary winners are both from the Eureka-Arcata area — Dan Hauser, an Arcata councilman, and Jerry Partain, a professor at Humboldt State University. Hauser beat Scott Keene, brother of state Senator Barry Keene. The winner will be the candidate who can make friends in the southern end of the district. DOUBTFUL.

DISTRICT 3 (47%D-39%R)

Miles (D)	**29,593**
Herger (Inc.-R)	**33,104**

Incumbent Wally Herger drew a tough young opponent in former UCLA student-body president Larry Miles. If the district were more Democratic, Herger would have plenty to worry about. LEANS REPUBLICAN.

DISTRICT 4 (58%D-28%R)

H'gan (Inc.-D)	**38,554**
Manfredi (R)	**17,533**
MacKenzie (P)	**148**
Moberg (L)	**186**

Democrat Tom Hannigan of Fairfield is one of the high-class acts in the Legislature, and he has a solidly Democratic district that will allow him to remain on stage for many years to come. SAFE DEMOCRATIC.

DISTRICT 5 (53%D-34%R)

M'head (Inc.-D)	**35,413**
Grenz (R)	**25,845**
Phelps (L)	**149**

Assemblywoman Jean Moorhead was elected as a Republican but switched parties last year. Realtor Peggy Grenz, who helped Moorhead get elected, is now seeking revenge for the switcheroo. The race should be bitter and tight. DOUBTFUL.

DISTRICT 6 (57%D-31%R)

Connelly (D)	**36,539**	**(78%)**
Lenci (D)	4,904	(10%)
Will (D)	5,695	(12%)
Green (R)	**12,547**	**(43%)**
Lucchesi (R)	4,821	(17%)
Nielsen (R)	11,795	(40%)
Dorn (P)	**99**	

This seat is being abandoned by Democrat Leroy Greene, who is running for the state Senate. The heavy favorite to succeed him is Councilman Lloyd Connelly of Sacramento, a hard worker with good financial backing. The Republican underdog is Bill Green of Carmichael, who won a tough primary contest. Green is affiliated with the organization of Senator Bill Richardson. LEANS DEMOCRATIC.

DISTRICT 7 (53%D-35%R)

Baker (D)	8,623	(18%)
W'ters (Inc.-D)	**38,762**	**(82%)**
Bailey (R)	**28,849**	

Incumbent Norm Waters has a marginal district running into the foothills east of Sacramento. But he seems to win without much trouble. He'll be put to a rough test this year by Steve Bailey, a professional Republican politician. LEANS DEMOCRATIC.

DISTRICT 8 (51%D-38%R)

Gentile (D)	**34,620**
S'iani (Inc.-R)	**34,295**

The combination of a more Republican district and a constant cultivation of the political vineyards will make freshman Don Sebastiani invincible in his quest for a second term. Sebastiani has leadership aspirations. SAFE REPUBLICAN.

DISTRICT 9 (48%D-35%R)

Chignell (D)	**32,336**
Filante (Inc.-R)	**33,065**

This is one of the few districts in the state that was left virtually undisturbed by redistricting. The Marin district can go Democratic, but it is usually Republican. Dr. Bill Filante should win another term, but a Democratic sweep could make a lawmaker out of police inspector Paul Chignell, a bigwig in the San Francisco police association. LEANS REPUBLICAN.

DISTRICT 10 (59%D-31%R)

Isenberg (D)	**35,233**	
Azvedo (R)	**9,147**	**(33%)**
Burton (R)	1,320	(5%)
Cecil (R)	908	(3%)
Invernon (R)	393	(1%)
James (R)	5,545	(20%)
Pane (R)	1,667	(6%)
Powers (R)	1,923	(7%)
Woolstrum (R)	7,109	(25%)

Eight Republicans campaigned hard for the right to face Sacramento Mayor Phil Isenberg in November, even though this new delta district is overwhelmingly Democratic. The theory is that the GOP can demolish Isenberg, who has some liberal views and who has ties to Assembly Speaker Willie Brown. The race between Isenberg and long-time GOP activist Ingrid Azvedo could be tight. But it also could be a romp for the mayor, who knows how to campaign. LEANS DEMOCRATIC.

DISTRICT 11 (65%D-24%R)

C'bell (Inc.-D)	**37,598**
Garner (A)	**346**
LaZare (L)	**177**

The only contest here is between American Independent Joe Garner and Libertarian Adam LaZare to finish a distant second to Democrat Bob Campbell of Richmond. SAFE DEMOCRATIC.

DISTRICT 12 (59%D-24%R)

Bates (Inc.-D)	**49,401**	**(78%)**
Dove (D)	13,955	(22%)
Bergondy (R)	5,954	(26%)

MOORHEAD

GRENZ

JOHNSTON

CARTER

Thomas (R)	**16,719**	**(74%)**
Mar (P)	**313**	

Democrat Tom Bates of Oakland withstood a challenge from the center and will have even less trouble in November. SAFE DEMOCRATIC.

DISTRICT 13 (70%D-17%R)

Harris (Inc.-D)	**32,270**

This Oakland-Berkeley seat is one of the safest in Northern California for the Democrats. SAFE DEMOCRATIC.

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Board of Equalization

Two of the biggest surprises of the political year came in the returns for the Board of Equalization. While most eyes were turned to the first district, which had a large field, the big upsets almost came in two other districts. Republican Ernie Dronenburg came within an eyelash of losing his seat to a political unknown — Jim Burton, owner of a small San Diego restaurant. Burton spent "less than $10" running his campaign and probably came close because of the simplicity of his name and his ballot designation as a small businessman. And veteran board member Richard Nevins of Pasadena had a scare from Saul Lankster, who benefited from some deceptive 11th-hour mailers. Nevins heard about the mailers and spent some money on advertising in the final days. It may have saved his political career.

DISTRICT 1 (52%D-36%R)

Brown (D)	50,052	(9%)
Church (D)	50,129	(9%)
Collis (D)	**151,982**	**(27%)**
Goldstein (D)	55,419	(10%)
Kopp (D)	102,186	(18%)
Monterey (D)	14,279	(3%)
Scott (D)	31,482	(6%)
Shimmon (D)	110,858	(20%)
Adams (R)	99,375	(23%)
Bagdonas (R)	34,439	(8%)
Donaldson (R)	110,881	(26%)
Ivers (R)	**155,291**	**(36%)**
Wright (R)	30,124	(7%)
Kangas (P)	**1,894**	
Nygren (L)	**2,872**	

This seat became open through the retirement of George Reilly of San Francisco, who has been on the board since the beginning of time. The Democratic nomination went to Conway Collis, an aide to U.S. Senator Alan Cranston. Collis was backed by the Waxman-Berman organization. His main opponent was Reilly's top aide, John Shimmon. Supervisor Quentin Kopp of San Francisco, who withdrew from the race, drew a large number of votes that might have gone to Shimmon had Kopp's name not been on the ballot. The Republican primary was won by Assemblyman Bill Ivers of Pasadena, who bested former Mayor Elaine Donaldson of Covina. Because there is so little public interest in the board, it is impossible to assess the outlook for November. The sprawling district, which runs from San Francisco to Los Angeles, has a Democratic tinge, but Ivers could win. DOUBTFUL.

DISTRICT 2 (46%D-41%R)

C'tian-H'ing (D)	109,646	(22%)
Davis (D)	77,678	(15%)
Grosekemper (D)	38,512	(8%)
Kelly (D)	**226,498**	**(44%)**
Parker (D)	58,136	(11%)
Burton (R)	273,293	(49%)
Dr'burg (Inc.-R)	**283,284**	**(51%)**
Dean (L)	**2,285**	**(66%)**
Protas (L)	1,163	(34%)

In theory, this is a Republican district, and incumbent Ernie Dronenburg of El Cajon should win easily. But look at the numbers for his primary against unknown Jim Burton. Board employee Edmund Kelly of San Bernardino has a nice short name like Burton's. Dronenburg may have to campaign hard. LEANS REPUBLICAN.

DISTRICT 3 (55%D-32%R)

Bennett (Inc.-D)	**604,510**	
Jones (R)	72,372	(16%)
Kuykendall (R)	139,019	(31%)
McCarroll (R)	**174,730**	**(39%)**
Ralstin (R)	60,199	(14%)
Condit (P)	**2,434**	
Evers (L)	**4,293**	

Consumer advocate Bill Bennett usually wins by a wide margin, and this year should be no different. His opponent is a board employee, Bob McCarroll of Sacramento. LEANS DEMOCRATIC.

DISTRICT 4 (62%D-29%R)

Lankster (D)	172,315	(33%)
Lawler (D)	31,845	(6%)
Nevins (Inc.-D)	**224,327**	**(43%)**
Smith (D)	95,160	(18%)
Audet (R)	**202,154**	
McCammon (P)	**1,189**	

Veteran board member Richard Nevins of Pasadena has the only heavily Democratic Equalization district in the state. He should win a seventh term with ease. Nevins was lucky to survive a mail assault on behalf of Saul Lankster in the final 10 days of the campaign. SAFE DEMOCRATIC.

DISTRICT 14 (63%D-25%R)

Glavor (D)	2,227	(5%)
Jarvis (D)	15,515	(36%)
Klehs (D)	**25,999**	**(59%)**
Bergondy (R)	4,943	(25%)
Duncan (R)	**14,753**	**(75%)**

With Assemblyman Bill Lockyer running for the state Senate, spirited competition developed in this San Leandro-Hayward district. Councilman Johan Klehs of San Leandro, backed by Lockyer, showed his strength in the primary. SAFE DEMOCRATIC.

DISTRICT 15 (39%D-49%R)

Kovar (D)	**27,243**	
Baker (Inc.-R)	**44,854**	

Republican Bill Baker of Danville, one of the more promising Republicans in the Assembly, was a major GOP beneficiary of reapportionment. He was given every possible Republican voter in Contra Costa and Alameda counties. SAFE REPUBLICAN.

DISTRICT 16 (66%D-16%R)

Agnos (Inc.-D)	**27,046**	
Bloyer (R)	**3,442**	**(58%)**
Myerscough (R)	2,522	(42%)

The big question for Democrat Art Agnos is what he does with his political future. Does he try to move up in the Legislature or run for mayor of San Francisco? SAFE DEMOCRATIC.

DISTRICT 17 (60%D-22%R)

Brown (Inc.-D)	**32,883**	
Crary (R)	**8,288**	**(65%)**
Dawson (R)	4,410	(35%)
Zaharakis (P)	**159**	
Hoy (L)	**162**	

Speaker Willie Brown will be concentrating his efforts on Democratic campaigns elsewhere in the state. Very little of his heavy campaign fund will be spent on his own re-election. SAFE DEMOCRATIC.

DISTRICT 18 (57%D-28%R)

Mc'ster (Inc.-D)	**19,546**	**(66%)**
McHugh (D)	4,802	(16%)
Morison (D)	5,387	(18%)
Thompson (R)	**14,099**	
Webster (L)	**116**	

This was a race for nail-biters, with conservative Democrat Alister McAlister being challenged by Mayor Primo McHugh of Milpitas and Dorcas Ann Morison of Fremont. McAlister survived residency problems without as much trouble as anticipated. SAFE DEMOCRATIC.

DISTRICT 19 (62%D-26%R)

Papan (Inc.-D)	**31,916**	
Kelting (R)	**12,722**	
Pickens (L)	**122**	

Tough Lou Papan has a much safer district, but his opponent, Les Kelting, is an activist who will keep Papan on his toes. The race won't be close, but it may be interesting. SAFE DEMOCRATIC.

DISTRICT 20 (45%D-43%R)

J. Smith (D)	**26,648**	
Naylor (Inc.-R)	**37,208**	
Castronovo (A)	**209**	
D. Smith (L)	**244**	

Republican leader Bob Naylor will take re-election for granted and concentrate his efforts on enlarging the Republican contingent in the Assembly. SAFE REPUBLICAN.

DISTRICT 21 (51%D-32%R)

Sher (Inc.-D)	**26,013**	
Parkinson (R)	**17,025**	
DeSio (P)	**120**	
Fridley (L)	**325**	

Freshman Byron Sher has a marginal district by registration, yet the GOP high command doesn't expect to give him much trouble this year. The registration statistics are deceptive because of the large number of independents in the Stanford area. SAFE DEMOCRATIC.

DISTRICT 22 (43%D-43%R)

K'nyu (Inc.-R)	**30,775**	
Smith (L)	**281**	

Republican Ernie Konnyu tried for some time to win public office. Now that he holds one, it appears he won't have to work very hard to keep it. SAFE REPUBLICAN.

DISTRICT 23 (60%D-25%R)

Vasco' (Inc.-D)	**21,844**	
Fowler (R)	**10,012**	
Justi (L)	**197**	

Assembly Ways and Means Chairman John Vasconcellos has been a Republican target in recent years, but he has rebuffed all challengers by substantial margins. This year, he's off the hit list. SAFE DEMOCRATIC.

DISTRICT 24 (55%D-31%R)

C'tese (Inc.-D)	**22,665**	
Laing (R)	5,251	
Sandoval (R)	**11,024**	
Agogino (L)	**166**	

The GOP thought there was a fair chance that freshman Dom Cortese, a former Santa Clara County supervisor, could be taken by attorney Barrie Laing. But Laing didn't work hard and was clobbered by teacher Jack Sandoval. Cortese should win handily. SAFE DEMOCRATIC.

DISTRICT 25 (55%D-33%R)

Areias (D)	**16,404**	**(54%)**
Estruth (D)	4,303	(14%)
Infelise (D)	2,525	(8%)
McCarthy (D)	6,034	(20%)
Sveinsson (D)	918	(3%)
Norris (R)	**15,697**	
Hinkle (L)	**118**	

Dairy farmer Rusty Areias of Los Banos ran a gangbusters campaign to sweep the Democratic

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primary in this new "Steinbeck" district that runs from Salinas to San Jose. Ed Norris, former Monterey County supervisor, is a strong Republican candidate. The seat could go either way. DOUBTFUL.

DISTRICT 26 (58%D-32%R)

J'ton (Inc.-D)	**34,407**	
Carter (R)	**16,727**	**(68%)**
Smith (R)	7,729	(32%)
Horner (L)	**61**	

Democrat Pat Johnston won by recount two years ago. He should have a much easier time in November. His opponent is former Assemblyman Doug Carter, who marches to his own drummer and is out of favor with the GOP high command in Sacramento. Carter likes Johnston and will probably run a low-budget campaign based strictly on issues. Johnston is a classy performer who will be difficult for anyone to dislodge. Carter has run many times and his June total was impressive. LEANS DEMOCRATIC.

DISTRICT 27 (53%D-35%R)

Condit (D)	**22,580**

Democrat John Thurmond is retiring, and the primary total doesn't tell the story about the outlook for November. The Democratic nominee is Gary Condit, a Stanislaus County supervisor and former mayor of Ceres. The Republican candidate, who qualified by write-in, is Kate Nyegaard, wife of a physician and sister of George Lucas, head of the Star Wars *film organization. The Republicans think she can beat Condit. LEANS DEMOCRATIC.*

DISTRICT 28 (50%D-32%R)

Farr (Inc.-D)	**37,637**
Cost (R)	**22,239**

The numbers make it appear as though this is a tough district for a Democrat, but there is a large independent vote in Santa Cruz. Republican James Peter Cost is a wealthy artist who could push incumbent Sam Farr, but Cost is definitely a longshot. LEANS DEMOCRATIC.

DISTRICT 29 (43%D-44%R)

Brian (D)	8,823	(32%)
Kupper (D)	**18,539**	**(68%)**
Seastrand (R)	**30,799**	

Eric Seastrand lost a state Senate seat by an eyelash two years ago. With Carol Hallett running for lieutenant governor, this Assembly seat is his consolation prize. Supervisor Kurt Kupper of San Luis Obispo might make some noise, but the district is quite Republican. SAFE REPUBLICAN.

DISTRICT 30 (62%D-28%R)

Costa (Inc.-D)	**23,541**

Incumbent Jim Costa seems to draw little or no opposition every two years. SAFE DEMOCRATIC.

DISTRICT 31 (61%D-30%R)

Bronzan (D)	**22,982**	**(72%)**
McKittrick (D)	9,023	(28%)
Lung (R)	8,956	(46%)
Slinkard (R)	**10,442**	**(54%)**
Johnson (L)	**53**	

This is the seat of Democrat Rick Lehman, who is running for Congress. It might be expected to go Democratic, but the Republicans came up with a strong candidate in Jo-Ann Slinkard, aide to state Senator Ken Maddy. Supervisor Bruce Bronzan of Fresno County has an enormous registration advantage, and he showed much more strength than Slinkard in June. DOUBTFUL.

DISTRICT 32 (48%D-43%R)

Gould (D)	**24,125**	
Bryan (R)	555	(2%)
Jones (R)	**20,826**	**(64%)**
Rubey (R)	11,050	(34%)

Bill Jones has been a favorite of organization Republicans for years, and he finally gets a good shot to win a seat. The district is built for a GOP victory, but the Democrats have a potent candidate in Clyde Gould, a Tulare County supervisor. Gould might have had an even better shot had he run against Congressman Chip Pashayan. LEANS REPUBLICAN.

DISTRICT 33 (60%D-30%R)

Means (D)	**16,613**	**(64%)**
Tyler (D)	9,503	(36%)
R'gers (Inc.-R)	**15,244**	

Republican Don Rogers of Bakersfield was seriously wounded by reapportionment, but he can still survive in this land of little party loyalty. Rogers will try to paint Bakersfield Councilman John Means as a Tom Hayden clone. DOUBTFUL.

DISTRICT 34 (46%D-42%R)

Wyman (Inc.-R)	**28,284**

Just as Rogers was damaged by redistricting, neighbor Phil Wyman was helped a great deal. Now he has a cozy GOP home. SAFE REPUBLICAN.

DISTRICT 35 (50%D-34%R)

O'Connell (D)	**23,155**	
Firestone (R)	**20,301**	**(78%)**
Kilbourne (R)	5,900	(23%)

Brooks Firestone, a businessman from the famous Firestone family, is almost running as an incumbent. The seat is being vacated by Democrat Gary Hart, who is running for the state Senate. Firestone is a moderate with environmental credentials. He will be tough for Jack O'Connell, aide to Senator Omer Rains, to defeat, even if there is a Democratic trend in November. LEANS REPUBLICAN.

DISTRICT 36 (43%D-44%R)

Garcia-Weed (D)	9,306	(33%)
Henson (D)	**18,601**	**(67%)**
Kato (R)	11,227	(31%)
McClintock (R)	**24,651**	**(69%)**

The Republican primary was a spirited affair, with conservative Tom McClintock, aide to state Senator Ed Davis, demolishing Tsujio Kato, mayor of Oxnard. The district should go Republican, but it is an environmentalist area and former Mayor Harriet Henson of Ventura has an outside chance at an upset. LEANS REPUBLICAN.

DISTRICT 37 (45%D-44%R)

LeMaster (D)	10,370	(41%)
Stine (D)	**15,002**	**(59%)**
Wright (Inc.-R)	**28,628**	
Downes (L)	**5,308**	

This large new district — shaped like a condor — is right for Cathie Wright, and she won't have much trouble in November. SAFE REPUBLICAN.

DISTRICT 38 (46%D-44%R)

Afriat (D)	**24,088**
LaF'te (Inc.-R)	**31,646**
Stevenson (L)	**172**

All logic would indicate that first-termer Marian LaFollette would have an easy time in this GOP-tinged district. But her opponent, Steve Afriat, almost won two years ago and he's never stopped working. Afriat claims the new configuration of the district is to his liking. But it still looks mighty Republican. LEANS REPUBLICAN.

DISTRICT 39 (60%D-30%R)

Katz (Inc.-D)	**24,868**	
Davis (R)	**12,025**	**(78%)**
Toth (R)	3,417	(22%)
Rose (P)	**59**	

Freshman Richard Katz probably will rise to leadership status before long. SAFE DEMOCRATIC.

DISTRICT 40 (50%D-31%R)

Bane (Inc.-D)	**28,904**
Shinkman (R)	**15,696**

If press releases could win political campaigns, businessman Marvin Shinkman would be a threat to veteran Tom Bane. The district is very Democratic, and Bane has plenty of campaign funds with which to keep constituents happy. SAFE DEMOCRATIC.

DISTRICT 41 (41%D-50%R)

Nolan (Inc.-R)	**40,314**

Pat Nolan of Glendale will probably try to move up the political ladder at the first opportunity. SAFE REPUBLICAN.

DISTRICT 42 (40%D-52%R)

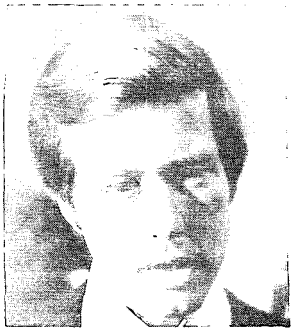
Smith (D)	**21,840**
M'joy (Inc.-R)	**42,600**

Even in a watershed Democratic year, this district would go Republican. SAFE REPUBLICAN.

CONDIT

SEASTRAND

JONES



DAVIS

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DISTRICT 43 (56%D-34%R)

Davis (D)	**31,647**	
Slosson (R)	7,818	(31%)
S'ger (R)	**9,375**	**(37%)**
Walsh (R)	8,413	(33%)

Gray Davis, former chief of staff to Governor Brown, pushed out all the opposition after Howard Berman opted for Congress. The GOP might take a crack at Davis, but he has plenty of money to use in the battle. SAFE DEMOCRATIC.

DISTRICT 44 (58%D-30%R)

Hayden (D)	**27,059**	**(51%)**
McGuire (D)	2,014	(4%)
Saltzman (D)	23,903	(45%)
Bock (R)	6,060	(25%)
Hawkins (R)	**13,985**	**(57%)**
Waldman (R)	4,396	(18%)
Hampton (P)	**157**	
Wolford (L)	**231**	

Tom Hayden spent a bundle of Fonda movie money to win this rough primary against Steve Saltzman, an aide to Mayor Tom Bradley of Los Angeles. Saltzman and most Democratic leaders closed ranks behind Hayden after the primary. Yet, the one-time radical will have a great deal of trouble winning in this Democratic district abandoned by Mel Levine. Saltzman's vote indicates that there is plenty of anti-Hayden sentiment, and Republicans will try to take advantage of it behind their relatively unknown candidate, businessman Bill Hawkins of Santa Monica. This will be strictly a vote on Hayden. DOUBTFUL.

DISTRICT 45 (60%D-29%R)

Albertson (D)	14,234	(34%)
Margolin (D)	**23,194**	**(55%)**
Roberts (D)	944	(2%)
Rosen (D)	1,911	(5%)
Ulrich (D)	1,720	(4%)
Hill (R)	1,968	(11%)
McIntosh (R)	**7,973**	**(45%)**
Rubin (R)	7,498	(43%)
Feigin (P)	**128**	
Brown (L)	**223**	

With Herschel Rosenthal heading for the Senate, a battle royal broke out between the Waxman-Berman organization and the Roberti-Beilenson coalition over his replacement. The Berman group backed Burt Margolin, Congressman Henry Waxman's aide. And the anti-Bermans supported Wallace Albertson, former head of the California Democratic Council and widow of actor Jack Albertson. When the going gets rough, don't bet against Henry Waxman. Margolin is headed for Sacramento. SAFE DEMOCRATIC.

DISTRICT 46 (56%D-30%R)

Roos (Inc.-D)	**15,342**
Collins (R)	**8,282**
Tate (L)	**165**

Democratic floor leader Mike Roos represents a quiet district that always re-elects Democrats. SAFE DEMOCRATIC.

DISTRICT 47 (83%D-10%R)

Hughes (Inc.-D)	**23,061**	
Dahlin (R)	**1,237**	**(52%)**
Neely (R)	1,132	(48%)

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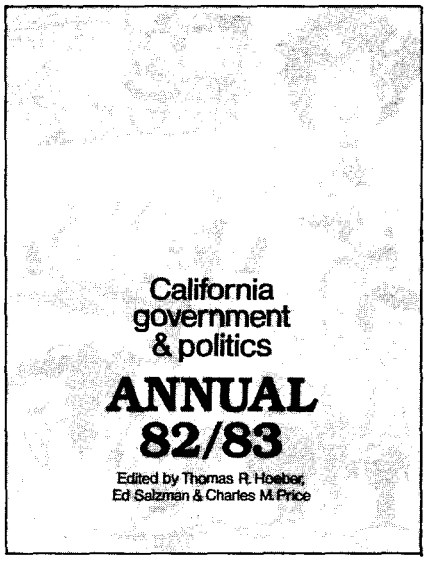

We must be doing something right. We ran out of copies of last year's edition of the **California Government and Politics Annual** in May — even though we printed more than the usual amount of copies. The new edition, our 13th, is now available — just in the nick of time.

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HAYDEN

What's amazing is that two Republicans fought for the right to be demolished by Teresa Hughes in November. SAFE DEMOCRATIC.

DISTRICT 48 (84%D-10%R)

Waters (Inc.-D)	**25,933**

Maxine Waters is still waiting for the bus that will take her to Congress or to some other step up the political ladder. SAFE DEMOCRATIC.

DISTRICT 49 (72%D-18%R)

Moore (Inc.-D)	**35,407**
Daniels (R)	**9,682**

Gwen Moore is blessed with one of those Los Angeles districts in which the November election is irrelevant. SAFE DEMOCRATIC.

DISTRICT 50 (76%D-16%R)

Tucker (Inc.-D)	**29,650**
Thomas (R)	**7,461**
Kelley (L)	**60**

At 64, Curtis Tucker is starting to approach the age of retirement. But he still remains solid in his Inglewood-based district. SAFE DEMOCRATIC.

DISTRICT 51 (43%D-46%R)

Helfer (D)	**25,244**	
Fiindo (Inc.-R)	**22,918**	**(52%)**
Ryan (Inc.-R)	21,409	(48%)
Treynor (L)	**217**	

Redistricting put two Republican incumbents, Marilyn Ryan and Gerald Felando, in the same district. Ryan had a territorial advantage, but Felando campaign manager Allan Hoffenblum succeeded in making her look like a Democrat to plenty of voters. Attorney Peter Hefer might be the beneficiary of some Ryan votes in November, but the district is very Republican. SAFE REPUBLICAN.

DISTRICT 52 (47%D-43%R)

Reza (D)	**14,977**	**(62%)**
Romero (D)	9,156	(38%)
Foerstel (R)	4,066	(13%)
Hill (R)	**10,715**	**(35%)**
Richards (R)	1,784	(6%)
Robinson (R)	4,585	(15%)
Stone (R)	9,139	(30%)

This district became available when incumbent Dave Stirling

HAWKINS

decided to run for attorney general. The Republican primary, won by professional pol Frank Hill, was the only ballgame. Hill works for Congressman Wayne Grisham. SAFE REPUBLICAN.

DISTRICT 53 (64%D-25%R)

Floyd (Inc.-D)	**19,085**	
Caldwell (R)	4,637	(40%)
Mueller (R)	**6,865**	**(60%)**

Freshman Dick Floyd has adopted a sometimes-whimsical approach to his job, and there is no indication that it has hurt him with the voters. SAFE DEMOCRATIC.

DISTRICT 54 (68%D-24%R)

V'cia (Inc.-D)	**27,908**
Lynch (R)	**11,226**
Turner (P)	**34**

In previous years, Frank Vicencia's main potential problem was opposition from within the black community. Redistricting eliminated this problem. SAFE DEMOCRATIC.

DISTRICT 55 (68%D-22%R)

A'rre (Inc.-D)	**22,096**
Ricchiazzi (R)	**6,878**

This was the only quiet district in East Los Angeles this year. Richard Alatorre can take reelection for granted. SAFE DEMOCRATIC.

DISTRICT 56 (79%D-12%R)

Molina (D)	**10,061**	**(52%)**
Polanco (D)	9,219	(48%)
Hyde (R)	**2,001**	

Art Torres gave up this seat to run for the state Senate. A hot battle ensued between Gloria Molina, Torres' aide, and Richard Polanco, who was working for Governor Brown. The Hispanic community was sharply divided, and the race became quite bitter. Now Molina can coast to victory in November. SAFE DEMOCRATIC.

DISTRICT 57 (65%D-25%R)

Elder (Inc.-D)	**21,953**
West (R)	**10,270**
Chauser (P)	**74**

Dave Elder has not yet become a major factor in the Sacramento political game, but he is still strong in Long Beach. SAFE DEMOCRATIC.

AFRIAT

DISTRICT 58 (45%D-43%R)

Springer (D)	**25,641**
Brown (Inc.-R)	**31,697**
Haak (P)	**99**

Reapportionment gave Dennis Brown a safe district instead of a marginal one. SAFE REPUBLICAN.

DISTRICT 59 (65%D-26%R)

Calderon (D)	**18,779**	**(52%)**
Davis (D)	3,925	(11%)
Duffy (D)	7,490	(21%)
Manibog (D)	5,262	(14%)
Roman (D)	960	(3%)
Orozco (R)	**12,717**	
Swinney (L)	**79**	

This is the district being vacated by Marty Martinez, who is headed for Congress. Martinez and the bulk of the Latino community unified behind Charles Calderon, member of the Montebello school board, and the race was a runaway. Calderon should lick Bill Orozco, often a GOP candidate, without much trouble. SAFE DEMOCRATIC.

DISTRICT 60 (64%D-27%R)

Tanner (Inc.-D)	**19,562**	**(77%)**
Varela (D)	5,880	(23%)
Van Note (R)	**8,977**	
Argall (L)	**49**	

The general election is anti-climactic for Sally Tanner, whose main concern was overwhelming Latino candidates like Hector Varela in the Democratic primary. SAFE DEMOCRATIC.

DISTRICT 61 (42%D-47%R)

Kearney (D)	**21,460**
L'n'rd (Inc.-R)	**32,858**

Bill Leonard is quietly moving up to leadership status among Assembly Republicans. SAFE REPUBLICAN.

DISTRICT 62 (46%D-45%R)

Santell (D)	**23,288**
L'ter (Inc.-R)	**31,305**

Bill Lancaster has survived some tough elections, now can take it easy for a while. SAFE REPUBLICAN.

DISTRICT 63 (62%D-30%R)

Medina (D)	**6,200**	**(20%)**
Young (Inc.-D)	**25,556**	**(80%)**

Bruce Young is one of the top

LA FOLLETTE

wheeler-dealers in the Assembly, and he has raised big money to build his political career. SAFE DEMOCRATIC.

DISTRICT 64 (42%D-47%R)

Johnson (Inc.-R)	**30,070**

Ross Johnson has a safe district, but he is itching to run for a higher office. SAFE REPUBLICAN.

DISTRICT 65 (54%D-35%R)

C'mer (Inc.-D)	**18,637**
Bader (R)	**14,923**

This is a rematch between 1980 victor Jim Cramer and former Pomona Mayor Charles Bader. The Republicans think they have a good chance of winning this seat. Cramer was not helped much by redistricting. DOUBTFUL.

DISTRICT 66 (59%D-29%R)

Butler (D)	11,139	(38%)
G'gin (Inc.-D)	**18,188**	**(62%)**

As the returns indicate, Democrat Terry Goggin has a few image problems in his Democratic district. The Republicans hope to test him with Albert E. Miller, who qualified for the ballot by write-in. SAFE DEMOCRATIC.

DISTRICT 67 (36%D-52%R)

Broughton (D)	**15,922**
Lewis (Inc.-R)	**32,855**

New Right freshman John Lewis probably can remain in the Assembly for as long as he likes. SAFE REPUBLICAN.

DISTRICT 68 (55%D-33%R)

Arredondo (D)	4,450	(16%)
Clute (D)	**12,183**	**(42%)**
Corsini (D)	5,595	(20%)
Roberson (D)	1,000	(4%)
Tobin (D)	5,528	(19%)
Burgess (R)	2,454	(12%)
Field (R)	6,734	(33%)
Reed (R)	820	(4%)
Stanton (R)	**7,932**	**(39%)**
Starling (R)	2,466	(12%)

Democrat Walter Ingalls of Riverside decided to try another occupation, leaving his seat up for grabs. Businessman John Stanton, who once ran for the state Senate, spent plenty of money to defeat Judy Field, who figured to be a more potent GOP candidate in November. The Democratic candidate is Steve Clute, a Riverside city official who clobbered the field. DOUBTFUL.

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DISTRICT 69 (40%D-45%R)

Hanson (D)	**17,645**	
Fr'lle (Inc.-R)	**18,249**	**(54%)**
Sills (R)	15,453	(46%)

Former Mayor David Sills of Irvine gave freshman Republican Nolan Frizzelle a scare. The general election doesn't count. SAFE REPUBLICAN.

DISTRICT 70 (30%D-58%R)

Westfall (D)	**15,355**
B'son (Inc.-R)	**47,633**

Marian Bergeson is blessed with the most Republican district in the state. SAFE REPUBLICAN.

DISTRICT 71 (51%D-37%R)

Wray (Inc.-D)	**22,684**
Allen (R)	**10,379**
Barr (L)	**215**

Here we go with the Ray Robinson-Jake LaMotta series of politics — the biennial contests between labor-backed Chet Wray and conservative Doris Allen. Democrats were unable to protect Wray through reapportionment, and this third bout may be as close as the last two, which were won by Wray on points. DOUBTFUL.

DISTRICT 72 (52%D-34%R)

R'son (Inc.-D)	**15,533**	
Heaney (R)	5,953	(43%)
Longshore (R)	**7,934**	**(57%)**

Richard Robinson is tough and has raised plenty of money. The Republican high command will point their heavy artillery in other directions even though the district is theoretically marginal. SAFE DEMOCRATIC.

DISTRICT 73 (46%D-44%R)

Scher (D)	**18,763**	
Cook (R)	7,450	(24%)
Kelley (Inc.-R)	**23,484**	**(76%)**

This desert district was represented by a Democrat a few years ago, but it now looks solidly in the GOP column. SAFE REPUBLICAN.

DISTRICT 74 (35%D-51%R)

Frazee (Inc.-R)	**31,744**

Bob Frazee chose not to seek one of the new congressional seats in San Diego County. He need not sweat to keep his seat. SAFE REPUBLICAN.

DISTRICT 75 (38%D-44%R)

Roe (D)	**19,590**	
Bilbray (R)	12,530	(35%)
Kane (R)	10,146	(29%)
Mojonnier (R)	**12,759**	**(36%)**

Former Del Mar Mayor Dick Roe needs a better district to get a crack at the Assembly. The Republican primary was the whole ballgame in this open district, and flower grower Sunny Mojonnier will be coming to Sacramento. SAFE REPUBLICAN.

DISTRICT 76 (37%D-49%R)

V'd'Wtr (D)	**19,602**	
Bittner (R)	10,343	(27%)
Bradley (R)	**14,291**	**(38%)**
Danell (R)	9,286	(25%)
Enstrom (R)	3,804	(10%)

This is another new San Diego County district made for a Republican. The GOP primary winner, Escondido businessman Bill Bradley, is as good as elected. SAFE REPUBLICAN.

DISTRICT 77 (42%D-43%R)

Stirling (Inc.-R)	**27,296**

Larry Stirling crushed all opposition two years ago. His reward is free passage this year. SAFE REPUBLICAN.

DISTRICT 78 (47%D-36%R)

Killea (D)	**25,150**	**(83%)**
Norris (D)	5,039	(17%)
Baker (R)	**19,351**	
Sands (L)	**211**	

The Republicans have been trying for a decade to take this seat away from Democrat Larry Kapiloff. Now, the GOP should have a shot at the seat because Kapiloff has taken a judgeship. However, the Democrats have come up with a strong candidate in Deputy Mayor Lucy Killea of San Diego. The GOP nominee is advertising man Jerry Baker. The race could be close. DOUBTFUL.

DISTRICT 79 (60%D-25%R)

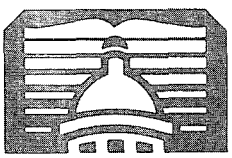
C'con (Inc.-D)	**21,121**
Gahn (R)	**7,972**

Veteran Pete Chacon has the only solidly Democratic district in San Diego. SAFE DEMOCRATIC.

DISTRICT 80 (54%D-33%R)

Griffith (D)	5,005	(19%)
Harris (D)	2,887	(11%)
Lassman (D)	2,780	(11%)
Palma (D)	820	(3%)
Peace (D)	**9,339**	**(36%)**
Sanga (D)	5,402	(21%)
Green (R)	2,107	(11%)
Moore (R)	2,978	(16%)
Myres (R)	4,336	(23%)
Perry (R)	**6,322**	**(34%)**
Ross (R)	2,780	(15%)

Democrat Wadie Deddeh is headed for the Senate, and he should be replaced by Steve Peace, who has worked for Deddeh and another San Diego County assemblyman, Larry Kapiloff. The Republican primary was a race between Chula Vista businessmen, and Don Perry won the right to oppose Peace. Farmer Fernando Sanga of Brawley failed to mobilize a large Hispanic vote to beat Peace. A Republican can win this district, but Peace is probably too tough an opponent for Perry. LEANS DEMOCRATIC.



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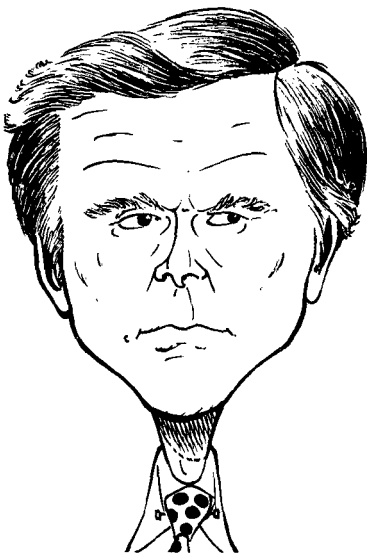
Struggle for the Senate



Wilson's buzzwords: 'Medfly, Hayden, Bird'

By MICHELE WILLENS

"It's thick out there."

That is how Jerry Brown's campaign manager, Jack Mayesh, describes the negative feelings toward his candidate in California. Pollster Peter Hart says Brown's negatives are the highest he has ever seen in a politician. California pollster Mervin Field also says things appear bleak:

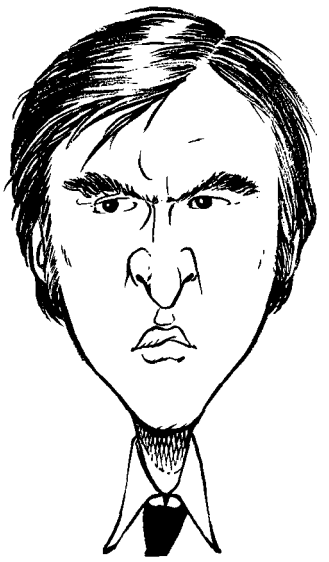
"The public perception of him has moved from one of love and intrigue to now seeing him as sort of an unappealing Don Quixote, ambitious and just like any other politician."

But both Field and Mayesh feel Brown can turn it around in his race for the United States Senate against Pete Wilson. "I think he can rehabilitate himself," says Field. "The nuclear freeze issue is going his way, and national issues in general will be good for him if Reaganomics isn't working. Also, a certain amount of dismay sets in right after the primary among Republicans, and it really gets down to choices. But clearly, Jerry Brown himself is the biggest issue."

Brown and his campaign people agree with Wilson and his campaign people that the key issue in the Senate race will be how deep the negative feelings about Brown really are. Wilson's strategy is to try to keep the focus on Brown, while the governor's strategy is to keep the focus on national issues.

Both campaigns may spend up to $5 million; both seem eager to get their men into debate situations. In fact, the day after the primary, Brown appeared with a proposal for 12 debates each covering a different issue. Clearly the two subjects most on Brown's mind these days are the nuclear

Michele Willens is a free-lance writer in Los Angeles and a regular contributor to the Journal.



Rebirthing of Brown: nuclear freeze, Reaganomics

freeze — which Wilson opposed — and the economic conditions in the country.

"The Senate is the place where policy is shaped," says Brown. "I believe Wilson's on the wrong side of the nuclear freeze and that he's wedded to Reagan's views on the economy.

Wilson takes a "build-first, reduce-later" approach to the nuclear issue: "If we freeze now, given their superiority, you offer the Soviets no incentive to reduce armaments. No one has ever invited attack by being too strong."

But Wilson also goes out on a potentially dangerous limb in his assessment of the national mood of the country regarding the arms race. "The anti-nuclear weapons movement is nothing new," he says. "The debate has always gone on, and Democrats are mostly using the freeze as a tactic. And Jerry Brown will cling to anything that is politically trendy. I do not think it will be a dominant issue in the campaign."

Tied to the president

On the economy, Wilson has aligned himself right next to President Reagan. That position was necessitated in part by a primary battle in which one of the key questions became which candidate liked Reagan more first. "I think Reaganomics will work by the summer," Wilson said near the end of the primary. "Interest rates will come down."

Wilson also talks about reducing the federal deficit and supports a constitutional amendment requiring a balanced budget. He often tries to compare himself with Brown as executives in government, but that doesn't scare the Brown campaign. "When you talk about being fiscally responsible," says campaign manager Mayesh, "we only have to remind people how Jerry Brown rode into office eight years ago. He came in saying, 'We've got to cut spending,' and he was accused of not caring about people. And, of course, he

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was talking about constitutional amendments to balance the budget way back also."

The Brown side, in particular, is trying to frame the race in very strict Democrat-versus-Republican terms. "This is a critical race in terms of classic party philosophies," says Mayesh. "Wilson represents the disastrous Republican policies which have led to our current situation, and we're talking about the social issues that most Democrats care about and that are being ignored by this (Reagan) Administration."

The rub for Wilson will be in trying to stay true to the conservative views he displayed during the primary, while wooing enough Democrats to win the nomination. Assuming he stays put, he may have trouble in getting people to switch, regardless of how much they might dislike Brown personally.

Wilson managed to look moderate and sensible against Pete McCloskey, who simply appeared too liberal for most Republicans and whose Mideast positions did him serious damage, and against Barry Goldwater Jr., who stayed out of the limelight just a little too much and who suffered from

media criticism of his intellectual abilities. But against Brown, the conservative-versus-progressive contrast will be more pronounced. Those inside Wilson's campaign say he cannot afford to disassociate himself blatantly from the Reagan Administration — but, they add, he must be seen as an individual. "There's no question," admits campaign manager George Groton, "that if Reaganomics isn't working, it will be bad for all Republicans."

The White House has already said it plans to make Brown a key target this campaign season. President Reagan may make a few appearances for Wilson. The Brown campaign has already seized on that possibility as proof of how effective the "governor-who-would-be senator" must be. "The fact Reagan wants to stop us will only help us with Democrats," says Mayesh.

Brown views White House involvement for Wilson this way: "I don't believe Pete Wilson can turn it into a plus for him. It will look like he needs the rescue squad from Washington. My guess is he'll be trying to squirm out of that by the end of the campaign."

Brown's 'ambition problem'

The bottom line, of course, will be the two men as performers — and whether Jerry Brown can be born-again politically one more time. "We intend to confront the causes of his negative ratings straight on," says Mayesh. "The Medfly obviously is a big factor — and we are going to try to explain that he wasn't indecisive, but cautious. He simply didn't want to make a rash decision when it came to spraying chemicals and, in the end, the state didn't suffer that much. His first responsibility was to protect people."

All the pollsters say Brown's biggest image problems were probably caused by his second run for the presidency. Even those close to him say Brown now concedes he stayed in the race too long. Mayesh believes that the "ambition problem" can be eased with a Brown promise to serve a six-year term in the Senate, plus an early announcement of support for U.S. Senator Alan Cranston's possible presidential run.

As for the "flip-flop" label often applied to Brown, Wilson may refer to it frequently, but the Brown campaign is ready. "No one has been more consistent than Jerry," says May-

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esh, "on environmental matters, nuclear matters, tight fiscal policies. Only on Proposition 13 will it be hard to shake." (Brown himself, the day after the primary, said he felt one of his biggest mistakes as governor was not coming up early with an alternative to Proposition 13.)

There is a risk for Wilson in raising the flip-flop issue. Candidate Wilson switched his position on support of sale of AWACs to Saudi Arabia the day before the U.S. Senate vote. There is also a feeling that Wilson has moved to the right politically to endear himself to the party faithful. Wilson was thought to suffer from terminal blandness during his unsuccessful run for governor in 1978. ("That campaign was a haven for people who hate crowds," he says.) But in 1982 he has come across better: easygoing, likable, with a sense of humor. Governor Brown could use a little of all of those qualities, at least in his public image. Mayesh says he's very interested in making the more human side of Jerry Brown visible. He is encouraging media interest in feature stories on the governor, "so people can see the man those close to him see."

The selection of Mayesh, incidentally, may be a positive sign that Brown's old instincts are back. Despite pressure from his campaign chairman, Mickey Kantor, to hire a young attorney from Kantor's Los Angeles law firm as his campaign manager, Brown held out for many months for his first choice, Mayesh. Mayesh was doing political consulting for several people, having been a close associate of Assemblyman Howard Berman's political operation. Brown liked his practical political feedback and decided Mayesh was the fish he wanted to catch, despite Mayesh's early reluctance. Finally, he relented.

Into the trenches

"I'm just really concerned about getting a Democrat in that seat," says Mayesh. "And obviously, this campaign is a real challenge, because we're starting so far behind in the polls. (Those done right before the primary projected Wilson would beat Brown by 20 points.) Also, I have a great candidate who is really churning now and who is much more mature."

Mayesh and Kantor are two of the best strategists in California, and Brown's old team of Tom Quinn and Richard Maullin are also involved again. The emphasis is on old-fashioned politics, raising money and — as Mayesh says — "building that solid foundation of traditional Democrats. That's what we've been doing all these months — going into the trenches to get these groups involved again."

Wilson's organization is also effective and, judging from the early polls, the campaign is his to lose. He relishes the opportunity to go after Brown: "I've been stalking him for seven years," Wilson says. He has already started with the buzz words that will surely persist up until November — words like Medfly, Hayden and Bird.

Wilson intends to turn this into a referendum on Governor Jerry Brown, while his opponent hopes voters will be looking ahead — imagining what Senator Jerry Brown would be like.

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CHARTING THE LEGISLATURE

The following is a list of significant bills pending before the Legislature in mid-June.

AGRICULTURE

AB 3672 (Thurman). Enacts a guide for the Legislature in actions affecting the agricultural industry. (Assembly Agriculture and Water Resources Committee)

AB 2568 (Hannigan). Requires environmental impact reports on proposed projects to include the effects of such projects on agricultural lands. (Senate Governmental Organization Committee)

BUDGET

AB 21 (Vasconcellos). 1982-83 Budget Act for the support of state government. (In conference committee)

SB 1326 (Alquist)/AB 2361 (Vasconcellos). Budget trailer bills. Enact multiple changes in state programs designed to reduce the cost of state services. (Both measures are pending in the Assembly Ways & Means Committee.)

CAMPAIGN FINANCING

SB 1504 (Presley). Authorizes persons filing income tax returns to designate an amount to be contributed to a state election campaign fund for the public financing of campaigns. However, amounts contributed would be in addition to a person's income tax liability. (Assembly Elections and Reapportionment Committee)

EDUCATION

SCA 40 (Robbins). Constitutional amendment authorizing the use of public school textbooks by students attending non-public schools. (Assembly Education Committee)

SB 1841 (Speraw). Prevents a pupil from attending a sex education class unless the pupil's parents had given written consent. (Assembly Education Committee)

SB 1458 (Carpenter). Adds a faculty member of a California state university to the Board of Trustees of the California State Universities. (Assembly Education Committee)

AB 2526 (Hughes). Adds a student member to the State Board of Education. (Senate Education Committee)

EMPLOYMENT

AB 3254 (Wray)/AB 2839 (M. Waters). AB 3254 requires employers to grant preference in hiring at other plants or facilities to employees displaced by plant closures, plant relocations or major reductions in operations. AB 2839 requires employees be given a 12-month notice of a pending plant closure, either severance pay or permanent preference in hiring at another facility, and imposes other requirements. (AB 3254 is on the Assembly floor; AB 2839 is in the Assembly Ways and Means Committee.)

AB 2710 (Johnston). Provides for the reparation of salary losses suffered by Japanese-American employees who were dismissed from state civil service during World War II. (Senate Public Employment and Retirement Committee)

SB 1118 (Greene). Provides job search assistance, employment assessment, and job placement services to workers who are displaced as a result of plant closures, layoffs, or reduced labor market demands for their skills. (Passed both houses; in Senate for concurrence in amendments)

AB 2383 (Floyd). Prohibits state and local governments from requiring an employee or job applicant to take a polygraph, lie detector or similar test as a condition of employment or continued employment. Exempts law enforcement agencies and fire departments. (Senate Industrial Relations Committee)

ENVIRONMENT

AB 2525 (Hannigan)/AB 2752 (Kapiloff)/SJR 36 (Presley). AB 2525 increases criminal fines and civil penalties for smog control violations; AB 2752 establishes an industry-funded research and monitoring program for acid rain. SJR 36 opposes federal efforts to weaken California's Clean Air Act. (The Assembly measures have been passed by the Assembly but not yet assigned to a Senate committee; SJR 36 has been adopted by the Legislature.)

FAMILY LAW

AB 2202 (Imbrecht)/AB 1706 (Kapiloff). Revises the order of preference in granting child custody. AB 1706 makes joint custody the first preference; AB 2202 makes physical and legal joint custody the first preference. (Both measures are pending in the Senate Judiciary Committee.)

FEDERAL BLOCK GRANTS

AB 1449 (Moore)/AB 3110 (Wray)/AB 3215 (Imbrecht)/AB 3295 (Agnos)/AB 3398 (Harris)/SB 1647 (Petris). AB 1449 revises the membership of the state block grant advisory task force to include more representation from populations served by block grants. Other measures propose changes in services and mechanisms for implementing block grants. (AB 1449 has been signed by the governor; AB 3215, 3295, and 3398 are pending in the Assembly Ways & Means Committee; AB 3110 has passed the Assembly but not yet been assigned to a Senate committee; SB 1647 is on the Senate floor.)

GOVERNMENT REORGANIZATION

AB 3331 (Katz). Abolishes fives "super-agencies" — State and Consumer Services, Health and Welfare, Resources, Business, Transportation and Housing, and Youth and Adult Corrections. Replaces them with a cabinet-level structure within the governor's office. (Senate Governmental Organization Committee)

HEALTH

SB 834 (Watson). Requires state to monitor the effects of malathion spraying in Medfly areas on pregnant women and their children; establishes a system for collecting medical information about birth defects, stillbirths and miscarriages. (Signed by governor.)

SB 2065 (Alex Garcia). Prohibits the performance of an abortion after 24 weeks of gestation or earlier if the fetus is medically determined to be viable. (On Senate floor)

AB 868 (Lehman). Expands the legal scope of practice of chiropractors to include the use of specified diagnostic and treatment procedures. (Senate Business and Professions Committee)

MEDI-CAL

AB 3480 (Robinson)/SB 2093 (Alquist)/AB 799 (Lockyer). AB 3480 and SB 2093 are the Assembly and Senate Medi-Cal reform proposals; AB 799 will become the vehicle incorporating their provisions. (AB 3480 is in the Senate Health & Welfare Committee; SB 2093 is in the Assembly Health Committee; AB 799 is in conference committee.)

PUBLIC UTILITIES

AB 2743 (Katz)/AB 3244 (Bosco), AB 2931, 3442, 3444, 3445 (Levine)/AB 2835 (Norman Waters)/AB 3303, 3305 (Lehman)/AB 2443 (Sher). Prohibit utilities from charging consumers for construction projects until such facilities are producing energy; establish Public Utilities Commission panels to monitor utilities' construction projects to prevent cost overruns; require utilities to notify customers in advance of rate changes; allow small power companies to sell energy to utilities. (Senate Energy and Public Utilities Committee)

SB 1380 (Montoya). Eliminates overlapping jurisdictions between the Public Utilities Commission and the California Energy Commission with respect to public utility financing, ratemaking, energy development and conservation programs. (Assembly Utilities and Energy Committee)

TAXATION

SB 145 (Dills). Increases inheritance tax exemption for a minor child from $40,000 to $100,000, for children of the deceased who are adults from $20,000 to $100,000, and for other relatives from $10,000 to $40,000. (Passed both houses; in Senate for concurrence in amendments)

TRANSPORTATION

AB 2873 (Bates)/AB 2457 (Young). Authorizes the Department of Transportation, in consultation with other agencies, to adopt regulations prohibiting or restricting the movement of tankers carrying flammable or combustible liquids through tunnels. (Both measures are in the Senate Transportation Committee.)

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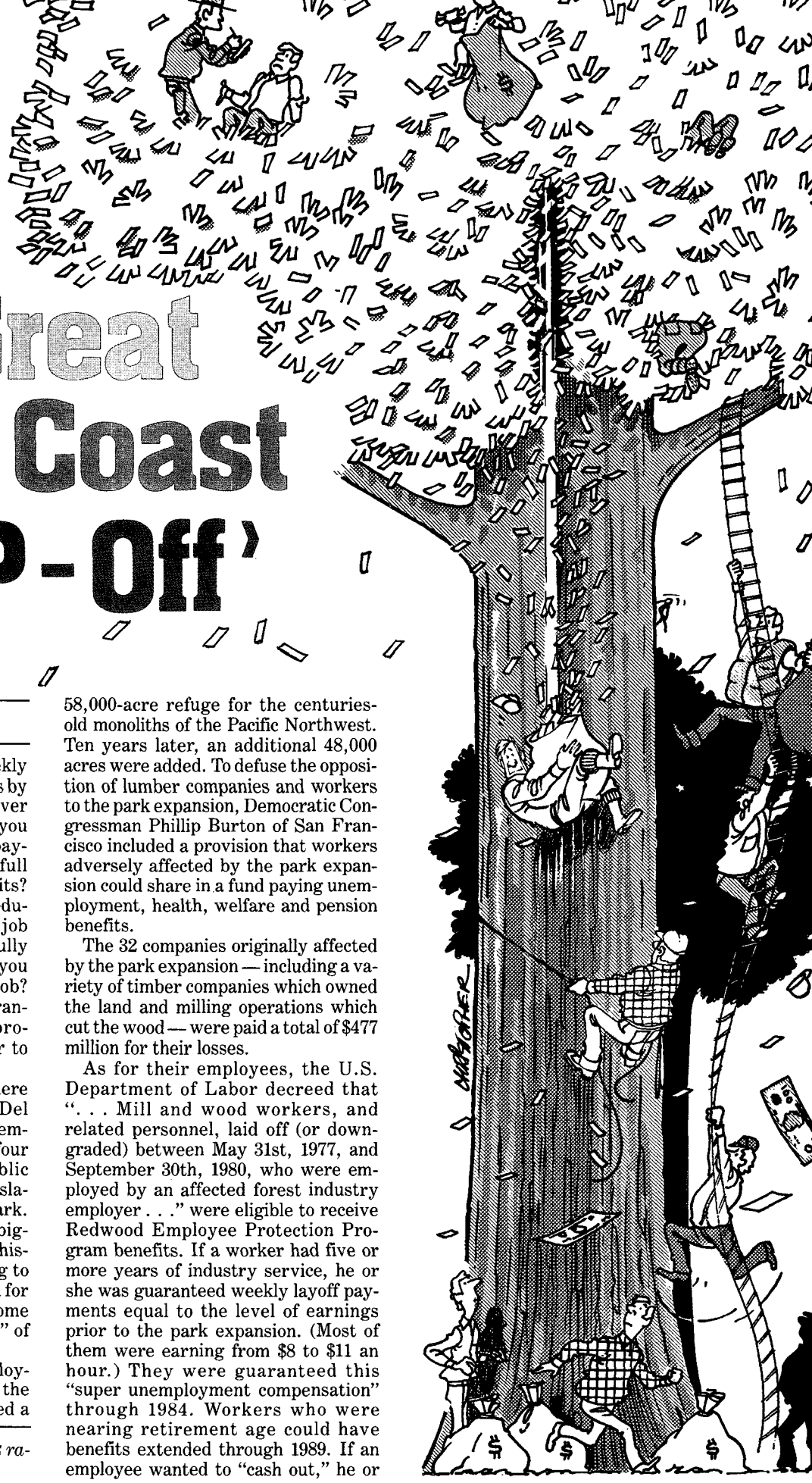
The Great North Coast 'REPP-Off'



By BOB ALDRICH

If you could collect your full weekly paycheck in unemployment benefits by being laid off your job, would you ever want to go back to work? What if you were also guaranteed those full paychecks through 1984, as well as full health, welfare and pension benefits? Then add the chance for a college education and retraining in any other job you choose. Finally, how about fully paid expenses for your family if you must go to another city to take a job? And what if all the above were guaranteed by a federal law which appropriated the money year after year to keep those benefits flowing?

That is what is happening right here in California, in Humboldt and Del Norte counties, for hundreds of unemployed persons. A little more than four years ago, Congress passed Public Law 95-250. The intent of the legislation was expansion of a national park. But the bill also created one of the biggest unemployment funds in the history of the country. And, according to its critics, it also created a potential for abuse that was equally as big. Some people call it the largest "REPP-off" of U.S. taxpayers ever devised.

REPP stands for Redwood Employees' Protection Program. In 1968, the Redwood National Park Act created a 58,000-acre refuge for the centuries-old monoliths of the Pacific Northwest. Ten years later, an additional 48,000 acres were added. To defuse the opposition of lumber companies and workers to the park expansion, Democratic Congressman Phillip Burton of San Francisco included a provision that workers adversely affected by the park expansion could share in a fund paying unemployment, health, welfare and pension benefits.

The 32 companies originally affected by the park expansion — including a variety of timber companies which owned the land and milling operations which cut the wood — were paid a total of $477 million for their losses.

As for their employees, the U.S. Department of Labor decreed that ". . . Mill and wood workers, and related personnel, laid off (or downgraded) between May 31st, 1977, and September 30th, 1980, who were employed by an affected forest industry employer . . ." were eligible to receive Redwood Employee Protection Program benefits. If a worker had five or more years of industry service, he or she was guaranteed weekly layoff payments equal to the level of earnings prior to the park expansion. (Most of them were earning from $8 to $11 an hour.) They were guaranteed this "super unemployment compensation" through 1984. Workers who were nearing retirement age could have benefits extended through 1989. If an employee wanted to "cash out," he or

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she could draw a one-time, lump-sum severance payment of up to 72 weeks of compensation instead of the weekly guarantee.

The original estimates for REPP were $25 million for about 1,100 eligible persons. But by early 1982, the program had already paid out a total of $33,595,303 in weekly benefits to 2,466 persons and $19,781,911 in severance payments to 1,100 others. Critics were warning that costs could rise to $100 million by the end of 1984. And Tim Skaggs, president of the International Woodworkers Union local representing the affected ex-employees, has estimated that the park expansion's price tag could run as high as $1 billion when the final costs of land acquisition, legal fees and payments to REPP recipients are combined.

'A well-meaning mistake'

The controversy over REPP costs include allegations that many persons not directly affected by the park expansion are getting benefits. Some who were not working for one of the companies when the park expanded are said to be on the benefit rolls of the state Employment Development Department which administers the payments. Also, the cutoff date of September 30th, 1980, is being challenged by recipients in the U.S. Ninth Circuit Court of Appeals.

The Federal Bureau of Investigation has investigated who was benefiting from the REPP since 1979. Stan Walker, the agent in charge of the Eureka office, said then that some workers who had been turned down for various reasons just resubmitted their claims with new information. "The REPP is a classic well-meaning mistake," Walker says. "The program has done a lot of good; people generally did get assistance. But unfortunately it's a classic example of what the Republican Party calls a federal program full of fraud and abuse."

Defrauding the program apparently was not difficult, according to its critics. They allege that some employees got their work records changed in order to qualify for REPP. Some administrators who were laid off, but not because of the park expansion, applied for and collected benefits. Other ex-employees simply preferred drawing REPP paychecks to working, and so they refused new job offers, critics charge.

Walker, who began investigating the REPP almost as soon as he arrived in Eureka in 1978, says the FBI has never closed its files. By law, the Department of Labor has the ultimate authority in administering the program. The REPP coordinator for the department, says the department "has continuously been reviewing things when these allegations are brought to our attention." Any internal investigation that appears suspicious is referred to the FBI, she says. But so far the U.S. attorney general's office has not issued a single indictment for REPP fraud or abuse.

Opening the 'window'

There are still other problems with the program. Among them:

- **Retraining.** Humboldt and Del Norte counties have a basic "eggs-in-one-basket" economy, so retraining for jobs in non-lumber-industry jobs seemed vital. As early as 1979, the county boards of supervisors mobilized federal job training and local educational services to help REPP workers. But only about 150 persons took advantage of the programs at the College of the Redwoods and Humboldt State University. Some are still attending school and getting paid for it.
- **Relocation.** About 125 workers availed themselves of the job-search and job-relocation allowances. Those who found jobs in other areas had their moving expenses paid by the government. Others found comparable jobs in the area, including some within the lumber industry. Only a small percentage of the 2,500 eligible recipients actually left the two-county area.
- **Court challenges.** Layoffs that occurred in the "window period" were presumed to be attributable to the park expansion. A year ago, Labor Secretary Ramond J. Donovan decreed that the "window" would not be extended beyond September 30th, 1980. But what if a worker was laid off during the window period, then returned to work and was laid off again after September 30th? What if a first layoff came after the "window" closed?

The Labor Department said such persons would have to prove that their layoffs were directly attributable to the Redwood Park's expansion. Local 398 of the International Woodworkers of America went to court to argue that the intent of Congress was for all workers not to have to prove their eligibility, and Judge Stanley A. Weigel of the U.S. District Court in San Francisco agreed. Had Weigel ruled in favor of the Labor Department, more than half of the nearly 2,500 people getting REPP benefits would have been disqualified.

The Labor Department requested a stay pending appeal of the case to a higher court — meaning it would not have to pay benefits to people outside the "window period" until a higher court ruled. That stay motion was denied last January. Labor then sought an expedited appeal from the U.S. Ninth Circuit Court. That too was denied. A regular appeal will take months, and the REPP payments will have to continue — including about 34 lump-sum payments to employees who had been waiting (some up to one year) for their severance pay. The total in lump sums: close to $1 million.

It is uncertain what could happen if the Ninth Circuit overturns the lower-court decisions. Ron Glass, a spokesman for the Labor Management Services Administration in Washington, D.C., says the government could try to collect any money that was paid out if people do not actually qualify for REPP. But, he admits, that would be extremely hard.

The 'end-around' memo

Problems are not over with the REPP. Local union officials claim the Reagan Administration is trying an "end around" by placing the program within the fiscal '83 budget cuts. Budget Director David Stockman sent a two-page memo to Congressman Donald H. Clausen who represents Humboldt and Del Norte counties, outlining three charges of abuse as reasons for killing the program:

- About 30 percent of the claimants received REPP benefits for normal mill-maintenance shutdowns, according to Stockman. (The mills are usually closed several times each year for routine cleaning and equipment replacement.) Stockman also cited a *Washington Post* article saying that lumber workers were getting Christmas layoffs for routine maintenance at Arcata National Company, then going into the unemployment office and filing REPP claims.
- A fire that ravaged several acres of land outside of the Redwood National Park was of "suspicious origin," yet persons put out of work because of the fire collected REPP benefits, according to Stockman's memo.
- The benefits create windfalls for employees and act as an incentive for them to stay unemployed, he charged.

Other critics have suggested that Congress amend the original program by cutting back the window period to December 31st, 1978. Anyone laid off after that date would have the burden of proving the job loss was fully attributable to the park expansion.

REPP has brought more than $53 million into the North Coast economy in the past four years, helping businesses and the unemployed in a seriously depressed area. But it has become so expensive that the Labor Department says something has to be done. What was originally compensation, dollar-for-dollar, for persons put out of work by an act of Congress is now one of the most generous giveaway operations ever devised.

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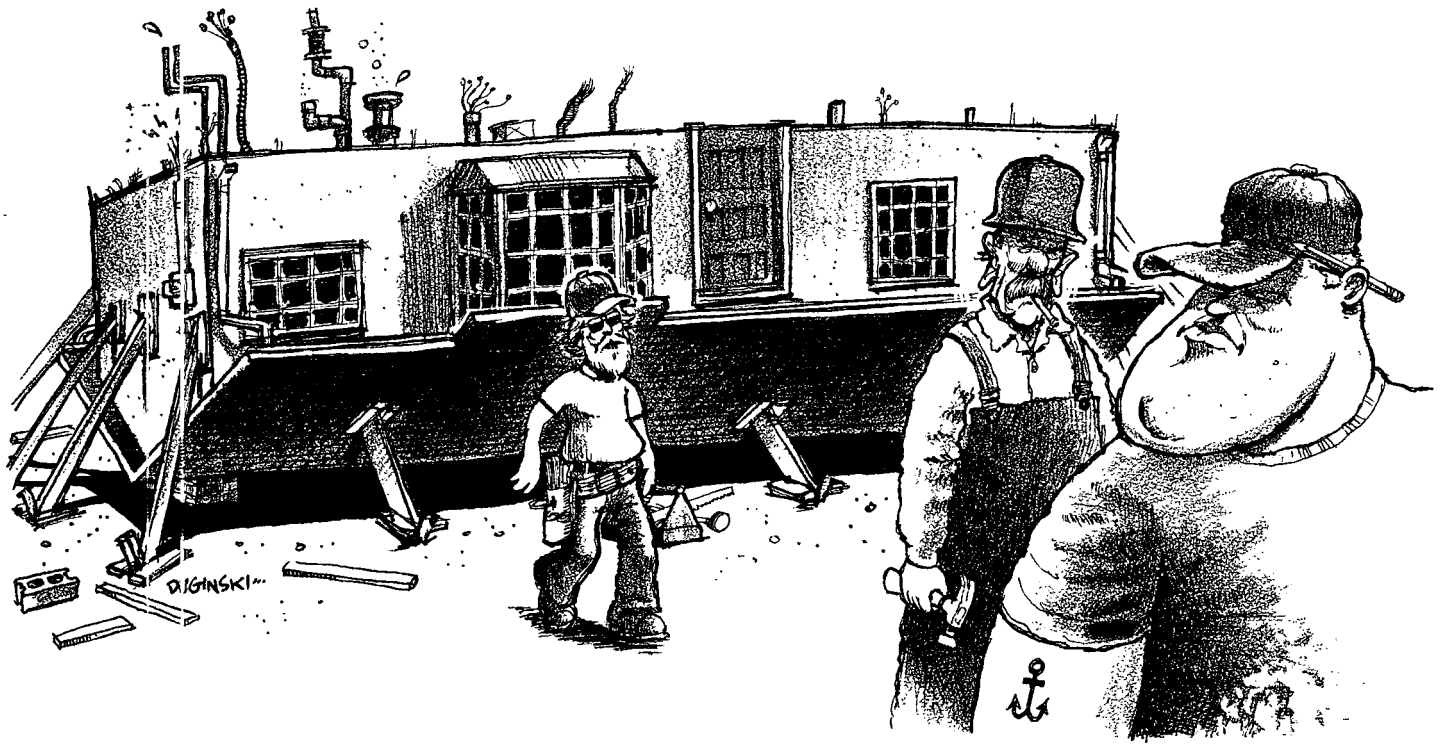
Agency under siege: Contractors State License Board



By LILLIEANNE CHASE

For several years the notorious inefficiency of the Contractors State License Board (CSLB) has evoked ominous growls from legislators and the construction industry alike. Critics of governmental red tape have had a classic case in the CSLB.

All over the state, legislative district offices regularly receive complaints from would-be contractors, irate because they have waited months to be scheduled for a licensing test date. Homeowners, frustrated by unresolved complaints against contractors, also contact their representatives. Richard Spohn, director of the Department of Consumer Affairs, says that CSLB employees sometimes encourage licensees and consumers to complain to their legislators as a way of getting faster handling of their claims at the board.

With more than 400 employees, the CSLB is the largest of the Department of Consumer Affairs' 38 regulatory boards and bureaus. It licenses nearly 40 separate classifications of contractors and polices more than 150,000 licensed contractors.

The board has been swamped by work and by problems since about 1977. According to Spohn, an aggressive media campaign five years ago by exam-preparation schools resulted in a "sudden bulge in licensing applications."

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Caught off-guard by the deluge, the CSLB's executive board searched for an effective administrator to guide the agency. After a succession of unsatisfactory appointees, the board finally settled on the appointment in 1979 of Jack Maloney, the board's current registrar. "But," says Spohn, "a critical period of two years had already been lost."

The biggest gripe about the board involves its lengthy license-application process. Every month it receives about 2,400 applications and tests about 1,500 persons. In 1980-81, more than 25,000 new licenses were issued. However, the average length of time from the date of application to issuance of a license has been about 10 months. (For those applicants not taking an exam, the wait was about three months.) Just getting an exam date usually takes five months and may even require a one-year wait.

"The time frame is disastrous for the industry," says Warren Mendel, who represents Associated General Contractors of California and other industry groups.

Richard Lemos of the California Builders Exchange agrees. The time delays in testing and licensing create barriers for new contractors and force people to work unlicensed, Lemos says.

'Wet-noodle' enforcement

Weeding out the "bad apples" is another problem for the board. Its disciplinary process has been cumbersome, and its enforcement actions have fallen into the "wet noodle" category. Prior to recent legislation, the board could only

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suspend or revoke a contractor's license, and that could take two to three years to accomplish. That was little help to a consumer with an unfinished or defective project. Furthermore, the board's only tool for dealing with unlicensed contractors was to develop a legal case against them; contracting without a license is a misdemeanor. Again, that did not help the consumer.

Two other areas of board responsibility have been chronic sore spots:

- **Review procedures.** The board has had trouble identifying fraudulent applications. The most notorious example of this is the "Williamson Gang," a group of about 2,000 con artists who perform shoddy, fraudulent work and operate throughout the United States. Some members of the group are currently under investigation for criminal activities. Perhaps 300 members or associates of the group are known to have been operating in California in recent years, most without a license. However, at least 80 members have been inadvertently licensed by the state and are currently being investigated by the board for license-application perjury.
- **Consumer complaints.** The workload in this area is a bureaucratic nightmare. The board receives about 30,000 complaints annually, the majority of which involve home-improvement and swimming-pool contractors. By 1979 the board had accumulated a backlog of more than 20,000 complaints, with little enforcement power to deal with them. The CSLB investigators — unable to issue an order-to-correct to contractors for poor or unfinished work — relied on a mediation process which resulted in complaints dragging on for months.

The Legislature has made several attempts to hold the board more accountable. In 1980 it ordered the CSLB to submit quarterly reports on the status of its application/exam and complaint backlogs to legislative fiscal committees. The next year, the Department of Finance was asked to prepare a zero-based budget for the CSLB. The auditor general has offered several recommendations. Special task forces and studies have urged other reforms, and the board itself has spent $800,000 in outside consultant contracts.

As a result of all this, some improvements have occurred. The complaint backlog has been cut to about 7,000, according to Maloney. Legislation last year empowered the board to issue orders of correction and civil penalties to licensed contractors, as well as orders of abatement and civil penalties to unlicensed contractors. A new citation program for licensees was implemented last January. A similar program for unlicensed contractors is expected to be in place this summer.

In addition, a special fraud unit has been instituted to detect the likes of the Williamson Gang. A new position, called consumer services representative, has been created to screen complaints. The more serious cases are assigned to the agency's 110 deputy investigators, whose own job specifications have been revised. Still ahead is a new, centralized data-processing system, expected to improve the board's performance significantly.

Oshri Karmon, representing Consumers for Competent Contractors, a Bay Area consumer group organized in 1977, says that the board "has improved tremendously," and that as a result, the consumer group's own workload has decreased.

Cutting the cord

Despite a 97 percent increase in its budget over the last four years and a 57 percent increase in its personnel roster, the board and the industry itch for more dramatic measures. They are pushing a bill that would remove the board from the Department of Consumer Affairs and make it an independent unit within the State and Consumer Services Agency. According to Maloney, passage of the bill would "cut the umbilical cord" linking the board and the department. The bill's future is uncertain, however; a similar one died in committee last year.

The board and the industry charge that Consumer Affairs is unable to provide the quantity and quality of services that the board needs to function effectively. An independent board would eliminate a level of review and enable the board to play a stronger advocacy role on its own behalf, Maloney argues.

Not surprisingly, Spohn disagrees, arguing that Consumer Affairs is willing and able to provide the board with all its needs. (The Contractors Board is financed by a special fund from renewal and license fees and fines. In 1982-83 it will contribute more than $1 million to Consumer Affairs as its pro-rata share for the department's administrative services.)

Industry spokesmen criticize the board for what they consider a pro-consumer bias. "The last few years, the board has put undue energy into consumer protection," says Lemos. "The marketplace will determine if a contractor is qualified. Too much importance is placed on the license as a verifiable proof of quality."

In 1977 the Brown Administration broadened the number of public members on the Executive Board to comprise a majority. Mendel maintains that the 13-member board — seven public members, five industry members and one labor member — have contributed to the CSLB's problems. "The public members do not understand the industry and so may not serve the consumer well," says Mendel. But consumer groups are strongly opposed to an independent contractors board. Karmon believes the industry would have greater control over a separate board, diluting consumer impact.

Industry officials like to note that the construction industry did $20.1 billion of business in 1979. "Because of its economic and professional stature," says Mendel," the contracting industry deserves and needs its own independent agency."

The CSLB is not the first board to contemplate secession and should it succeed, it could trigger other departures from the Department of Consumer Affairs. It is not likely, however, that any reorganization plan is going to solve easily the massive problems that the board has struggled with for years.

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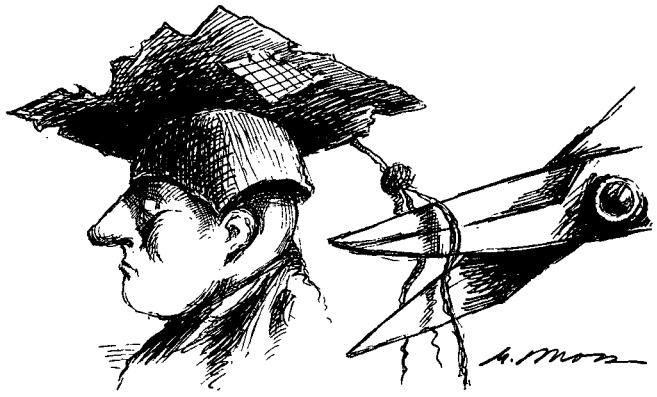
Goodbye to the open door for California college students



By JOAN TRASK

An "open door" to higher education has always been a basic element in California's image as the land of opportunity. For decades the state has pointed proudly to its ever-growing string of university, state college and community college campuses. Tuition-free, low-cost, easily accessible education beyond high school has been taken for granted by millions of California residents.

All of that may be changing in the '80s. The state's current budget woes have transmitted some major shock waves through the educational establishment. Suddenly there is talk about once-unspeakable subjects, such as tuition at the University of California and the state universities, higher student charges on every campus and even an unprecedented proposal for student fees at all two-year colleges.

For future students, the impact will be personal and costly. And for the vast postsecondary system, the effects could significantly alter the state's education picture. In the process, some basic questions will have to be answered by legislators and educators:

- **Should everyone** have access to a free or low-cost college education? If so, what part of the bill should be paid by the public and what part by students?
- **When student-aid funds** are reduced in Washington, as the Reagan Administration intends to do, what happens to enrollments, both on public and on higher-tuition, private campuses?
- **Will public** universities and colleges be willing and able to accept everyone who wants to enroll? If not, who is admitted — the academically promising or the financially capable? And what happens to programs designed to encourage minority access to higher education?
- **If costs of** college go up and supporting state revenues do not, where are the cuts made — in admissions, in educational quality or in both?

A sacred tradition

The costs of higher education were rising gradually even before Proposition 13 and the state's current fiscal problems. But a sacred California tradition has been technically preserved: tuition-free, advanced education for state residents, a principle established back in 1867 when UC was created. (At UC, an "educational fee" was added to resident fees in the '70s to support capital outlay and some program costs. Now educational fees are used solely for student aid and related services.) Resident fees are supposed to cover only non-instructional costs, such as health services, athletics, student activities and so on, while the state has traditionally paid the costs of instruction.

Since Proposition 13, student charges have been rising more sharply — first to prevent program cuts and then to replace dollars the Legislature trimmed from the post-secondary segments' general fund budgets. During 1982-83 University of California students probably will be charged nearly $1,200 in annual fees; state university students will pay an average of $416; community college students will pay nothing.

The proposed increase in fees for 120,000 UC students and 300,000 CSU students would raise $54 million next year. Of that amount, $37 million would go toward balancing the state's strained general-fund budget. Another $5.7 million would pay for increased student financial assistance at the state universities; $4 million would go to student aid on UC campuses. The rest would go for other purposes at UC.

As the gap in fee levels has grown greater between the university and the other segments, officials have begun to worry about the likely effects on student populations and on the need for financial aid.

Asked by the Legislature to seek some long-range policies, the California Postsecondary Education Commission in May recommended a formula for fees which would peg them to a base: the average percent of state support per student over a three-year period. All graduate students at UC and state universities would pay 120 to 130 percent of the average undergraduate charges; UC full-time undergraduates would pay between 40 and 50 percent of the base; CSU students would pay between 10 and 20 percent. That would put annual UC undergraduate fees in the $1,200-to-$1,500 range. CSU undergraduate fees would be between $300 and $600.

Perhaps most controversial was the commission's proposal for a two-part, $80 million cut in community college funding in 1982-83 and a possible statewide fee on the 107

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campuses beginning in 1983. If state financing does not increase, then the absence of charges at two-year colleges will mean ever-higher fees on all four-year campuses, the commission report warned. The $80 million savings would involve charging more for non-academic classes and dipping into community-college reserve funds for $50 million.

"As a practical matter, it is not possible to continue all of our previous policies and practices," said Patrick Callan, executive director of the Postesecondary Commission, in his report to the Legislature. "Of all the options available to the state — among them, closing some campuses, restricting enrollments or raising student charges without increasing financial aid for needy students — none is attractive."

Can the long-cherished "tuition-free" policy continue? Democratic Assemblyman Gary Hart of Santa Barbara says no. "If the economy does not improve," he says, "I think tuition may be imposed in a couple of years, maybe. But it really does depend on how the situation changes between now and then. The question no longer is whether or not fees will be raised, but how fast they will be going up." Hart prefers some slight statewide tax increase to a sharp rise in college fees.

A bill calling for tuition for all graduate students died in the Legislature last year — but the legislative analyst this year recommends a $400 annual "graduate student charge." Critics, admitting the charge has a chance of passing, call this the first step toward tuition for all college students.

One of the Legislature's experts on higher education, Democratic Assemblyman John Vasconcellos of Santa Clara, maintains that public commitment to financing education "expires at some point." It is more appropriate to charge higher fees to graduate students than to undergraduates, Vasconcellos says, as long as adequate financial aid is provided when fee increases become necessary.

The very rich and very poor

So what does all this mean to the graduating high school senior? If he or she belongs to an average middle-class family, the future will not involve smooth sailing, according to Student Aid Commission Director Arthur Marmaduke. More middle-income families send their children to college than families in any other income bracket, he says. "But there is a real fear that higher education may some day be available only to the very rich or the very poor — that the middle-income families are going to be hit harder than anybody else. It is not certain, but that's the way it looks now."

Based on statistics and projections from several state sources, here are the prospects for the near future on California campuses:

- **Higher living costs.** Living expenses (including registration fees) at public college and universities in the state have risen an average of 33 percent in the past five years and are still rising. Living at home is still one of the best ways to cut costs, but even that lifestyle is getting more expensive.

Living off campus cost about $3,500 for a state university student five years ago; now it costs more than $5,300 a year. At UC the off-campus costs have risen from $4,000 to more than $6,200 in five years.

On-campus residency is somewhat less expensive than apartment dwelling: about $3,700 annually at a community college, $3,500 at a state university and more than $4,300 on a UC campus.

- **Less student aid.** Five years ago, Pell Grants — the largest category of federal student aid — totaled $133 for California enrollees; this year the total is $165 million. (The average Pell Grant this year is $575 at CSU and $645 at UC.) The Reagan Administration proposes cutting that figure to $96 million for 1983-84. Should that proposal be enacted, the Student Aid Commission says that half of the state's 225,000 Pell Grants would be eliminated.

According to the governor's budget, the Cal-Grant Program, the state's largest student aid plan, will be cut $2.4 million over current amounts ($88.7 million in 1981-82), but the number of available awards will increase by 2,000. During 1981-82, the most common category of Cal-Grant award averaged $260 at CSU and $800 at UC. Officials say that budget uncertainties make it impossible to estimate awards for next year.

- **More crowded community colleges.** Unless state and federal funding policies change considerably or new revenue sources are found for higher education, experts predict enrollment shifts of major proportions in the next decade. Students who cannot afford the rising tuition at private colleges will turn instead to public institutions. A growing number of students, unable to afford UC or state university fees, will enroll nearer home for a year or two. Community college enrollments will grow while other segments may level off, they predict.

Morgan Odell, executive director of the Association of Independent California Colleges and Universities, admits that attending a private school will become increasingly difficult. "After leveling off for the past two years, (enrollment) will probably be lower this fall and, as a result, public schools will reach enrollment caps.

"I think we may also see a dozen campus mergers in the next five years or so," Odell says. "At this point, I know of no such actual plans. Each school has its assets and, rather than close completely, they will merge with nearby campuses to cut costs." (Four years ago, private Lone Mountain College merged with University of San Francisco.)

- **Higher admission standards.** Both UC and CSU boards are pressuring high schools to raise graduation requirements, reduce grade inflation and require more rigorous loads for college-bound seniors. Part of the reason: the increasing costs for both systems of remedial or "bonehead" English and math courses.

The CSU Board of Trustees this year approved a set of admission standards which will apply to all freshmen entering its 19 campuses in the fall of 1984. All applicants will have to have taken four years of English and two years of mathematics, algebra and geometry. Starting in 1986, the nine UC campuses will require at least three years of high school math instead of the two years now required. Students will earn extra grade-point credit by taking more difficult high school honors courses. The new rules also will require applicants to have taken at least 16 year-long courses, including 15 in academic subjects.

State Board of Education President Anne Leavenworth believes that the new standards will produce better-prepared students. "We go in such fads, often not realizing the consequences of reform. At first, all the weight was on getting good grades but not to take academically challenging courses. Now the movement is in the other direction."

- **Crackdown on local "fun" courses.** The Postsecondary Education Commission staff estimates that about $30 million or more could be saved annually by requiring community colleges to charge fees for recreational, avocational and community-service courses which are not now self-supporting. Examples: jogging, surfing, jazzercise, photography, needlepoint, ballroom dancing and midweek skiing. Many participants in such classes are taking no other courses of academic content, the commission staff says. About 20 percent of all community-college courses fall into these categories, according to Commission Director Callan.

Clearly the state's "open door" to higher education will have a toll box beside it in the next decade. The challenge wil be to maintain academic quality while ensuring that the tolls don't determine who can afford to get inside.

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Perspective from
WASHINGTON
By Martin Salditch

The clean-air drama

Hollywood could not have cast it better in terms of the "hero" and the "heavy." This plot is loaded with suspense and surprise At stake are big money, jobs, life and death. Some of the scenes are even played out in the White House. All that's missing so far is sex — but then, no real-life script is perfect

THIS PARTICULAR SCENARIO involves the 1½-year-old congressional battle to revise the Clean Air Act. First passed in 1970 during the Nixon Administration, the act was strengthened in 1977 under President Carter. At that time, some pollution-reduction deadlines were extended to mollify the car-makers and industrial polluters.

The Clean Air Act officially expired last October 1st, but it actually remains in effect as long as Congress continues to appropriate funds to the Environmental Protection Agency to enforce it. So in this legislative conflict, time is on the side of the environmentalist forces. They are strongly resisting any weakening of air-pollution controls. They also want to protect the clean-air standards in national parks and wilderness areas, and to stick with existing compliance deadlines for high-smog air basins such as Los Angeles. For casting purposes, label this side the "good guys," since a Lou Harris poll suggests that 86 percent of the American people are rooting for them.

Leading the "good guys" side in the House of Representatives is short balding, mild-mannered but crafty Congressman Henry A. Waxman, the West Los Angeles Democrat (and local kingmaker) who is chairman of the House Health and Environmental Subcommittee. Waxman, a former state legislator who came to Congress in 1975, captured the subcommittee chairmanship over a more senior member four years later. He achieved this with the distribution of $24,000 in campaign contributions to colleagues who had a vote in the matter.

Adept as Waxman is politically, he appeared to be caught in a David-versus-Goliath mismatch when his head-to-head opponent in the clean-air fight turned out to be Congressman John D. Dingell, a Detroit Democrat who is chairman of the House Energy and Commerce Committee.

Dingell — a sulking, hulking presence in Congress since he succeeded his father there 26 years ago — is definitely not known as "Mr. Nice Guy" among lawmakers. *Congressional Quarterly* recently described him as "stubborn and vindictive on occasion, self-confident to the point of arrogance, a skilled craftsman and one of the most effective House members." The Michigan congressman himself has confessed, "Occasionally, I'm going to have to do ugly things that hurt me politically . . . But I was sent here to win."

Another Southern California congressman, Jerry Patterson, a Santa Ana Democrat, found that out several years ago. He was chairman of a special study panel which recommended a separate House committee to deal with energy legislation. Dingell not only successfully thwarted that threat to Commerce Committee jurisdiction over energy issues; he also got the House to move other energy topics into his renamed and expanded fiefdom.

The cast of characters also includes President Ronald Reagan. Usually a "white hat" in his movie-acting days, Reagan has lined up with the "black hats" in endorsing industry's efforts to weaken the existing federal clean-air standards. Industry lobbyists are backing legislation which, opponents contend, would increase deaths by easing smog standards. Among other things, their proposals would allow the Reagan-controlled Environmental Protection Agency to withdraw the existing federal highway-sewage grant freeze on California. That freeze was imposed under the Carter Administration because the state's lawmakers refused to mandate an annual auto-tailpipe inspection program in Los Angeles and other major metropolitan areas.

Waxman delayed a showdown vote in his 20-member subcommittee until last March because he was well aware his opponents had a majority of the votes. The industry forces won amendments there by a 12-to-8 margin. Waxman then conceded that he expected to lose again in the full 42-member House Energy and Commerce Committee which Dingell chairs. He thought he had a narrow chance of victory among all 435 House members on the floor. (Ironically, polluting businesses had spread $390,000 in 1980-81 campaign contributions among the House committee members, according to Common Cause. That was the same tactic used by Waxman to help gain his subcommittee chairmanship in 1979.)

Even if Dingell won in the House, he could be stalemated by a more environmentally protective Senate. There committee members were resisting most of the industry-Reagan amendments initially accepted by the House committee.

But a funny thing happened after Chairman Dingell rushed his committee into a series of votes on the Clean Air Act revision bill in April: He started losing some of the key issues which he had won previously in the Waxman subcommittee.

For example, the committee voted 22-to-19 against an industry-backed plan to allow extensions of state air pollution compliance deadlines until 1993, rather than 1987. Then members split 25-to-12 on a proposal that would have weakened air-quality standards in national parks and wilderness areas. The clean-air forces won that one.

CHAIRMAN DINGELL ABRUPTLY HALTED committee work on the bill in late April. Since then he has been trying to negotiate behind-the-scenes a compromise package with "swing" votes.

Waxman attributes the turn-around to the growing realization of House members facing re-election this year that it is not politically wise to be seen as anti-clean air. Maybe the "little guy" will win this one after all, just like in the movies.

Editor's note: While Leo Rennert was on vacation, this month's column was written by the Washington correspondent of the Riverside Press-Enterprise.

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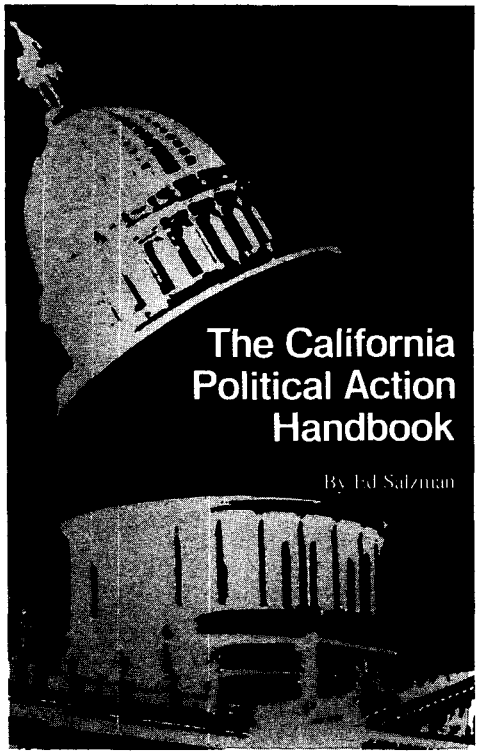
How to win the Sacramento political game . . .

The California Political Action Handbook



How can an organization or an individual send a message with maximum impact to the decision makers in Sacramento? What tactics should be used to get legislators to vote one way or the other on a specific bill? How can the state bureaucracy be penetrated? How can elections be won in California?

These are among the questions that are answered in this concise, 32-page paperback book now available from the California Journal Press. **The California Political Action Handbook** was written by *California Journal* editor Ed Salzman in response to many requests for a handy guide that pulls no punches in describing how the political game in Sacramento is really played.

This handbook describes how the Legislature operates, what should be done to influence lawmakers, how lobbyists function, how citizens can help their advocates apply optimum pressure at the optimum time, what can be done when an emergency arises, and the do's and don'ts of dealing with public officials. It also contains chapters on the executive branch of government, winning elections and keeping informed.

Prices: Single copy, $2.65, including tax; 2-5 copies, $1.95 each plus tax; 6-24 copies, $1.50 each plus tax; 25 or more copies, 95 cents each plus tax.

Send all orders for **The California Political Action Handbook** to the California Journal Press, 1714 Capitol Ave., Sacramento 95814.

A society of sheep must in time beget a government of wolves.

— Bertrand de Jouvenal

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